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ABSTRACT

This book includes the following chapters: "Literacy and Advanced Foreign Language Learning: Rethinking he Curriculum" (Richard G. Kern); "A Template for Advanced Learner Tasks: Staging Genre Reading and Cultural Literacy Through the Precis" (Janet Swaffar); "Fostering Advanced L2 Literacy: A Genre-Based, Cognitive Approach" (Heidi Byrnes, Katherine A. Sprang); "Heritage Language Speakers and Upper-Division Language Instruction: Findings from a Spanish Linguistics Program" (Daniel J. Villa); "heritage Speakers' Potential for High-Level language Proficiency " (Olga Kagan, Dillon, Kathleen); "Study Abroad for Advanced Foreign Language Majors: Optimal Duration for Developing Complete Structures" (Casilde A. Isabelli); "'What's Business Got to Do with It?': The Unexplored Potential of Business Language Courses for Advanced Foreign Language Learning" (Astrid Weigert); "Fostering Advanced-Level language Abilities in Foreign Language Graduate Programs: Applications of Genre Theory" (Cori Crane, Olga Liamkina, Marianna Ryshina-Pankova); and "Expanding Visions for Collegiate Advanced Foreign Language Learning" (Hiram H. Maxim). (Author/VWL)

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Sally Sieloff Magnan, Series Editor

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Advanced Foreign Language Learning: A Challenge to College Programs

Heidi Byrnes ◆ Hiram H. Maxim
Editors

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Contents

Acknowledgments v

Introduction Creating Sites for Collegiate Advanced Foreign Language Learning: Heidi Byrnes and Hiram H. Maxim, Editors vii

Part One: Literacy As a Conceptual Framework for Collegiate Advanced Learning 1

Richard G. Kern — Literacy and Advanced Foreign Language Learning: Rethinking the Curriculum 2

Janet Swaffar — A Template for Advanced Learner Tasks: Staging Genre Reading and Cultural Literacy through the Précis 19

Heidi Byrnes and Katherine A. Sprang — Fostering Advanced L2 Literacy: A Genre-based, Cognitive Approach 47

Part Two: Heritage Learners As Advanced Learners 87

Daniel J. Villa — Heritage Language Speakers and Upper-Division Language Instruction: Findings from a Spanish Linguistics Program 88

Olga Kagan and Kathleen Dillon — Heritage Speakers' Potential for High-Level Language Proficiency 99

Part Three: Contexts For Advanced Learning 113

Casilde A. Isabelli — Study Abroad for Advanced Foreign Language Majors: Optimal Duration for Developing Complex Structures 114

Astrid Weigert — "What's Business Got To Do with It?" The Unexplored Potential of Business Language Courses for Advanced Foreign Language Learning 131

Cori Crane, Olga Liamkina, and Marianna Ryshina-Pankova — Fostering Advanced-Level Language Abilities in Foreign Language Graduate Programs: Applications of Genre Theory 150

Postscript 177

Hiram H. Maxim — Expanding Visions for Collegiate Advanced Foreign Language Learning 178

About the Contributors 192

AAUSC Style Sheet 195

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Heidi Byrnes and Hiram Maxim
Editors

Introduction:
Creating Sites for Collegiate Advanced Foreign Language Learning

Heidi Byrnes and Hiram H. Maxim
Georgetown University

The work of foreign language supervisors and coordinators can be described from two perspectives: in terms of content, they are to assure quality "language teaching" and language teacher education, including the education of graduate students for teaching; in terms of administration and programmatic reach, they are to assure the smooth functioning of lower-division language instruction within their departments, typically graduate departments at state institutions. Behind that arrangement stands a split in foreign language departments that has, over the years, become nearly invisible: it continues to be the natural order to separate language learning from the content learning that takes place in upper division courses, to separate teaching and teacher preparation from the center of an undergraduate and even a graduate department's intellectual work, and to separate the educational and research interests and the individual and communal forms of engagement of an entire department and its faculty members from the language acquisitional interests of students, undergraduate and graduate. The many advances in program quality supervisors and coordinators have achieved over roughly the past decade were accomplished within those intellectual and structural boundaries. The guiding presumption or, at times, the reluctantly reached conclusion was that the bifurcations on which this arrangement rests were sufficiently acceptable and, given admirable commitment and clear-eyed professionalism on the part of these faculty members, reasonably workable within the dominant institutional and intellectual environment.

However, for some time now alert practitioners have also addressed the fact that the intellectual foundations of the existing content and administrative-organizational arrangements deserved to be questioned, from the standpoint of the nature of language, from the perspective of adult language learning in a collegiate context, and with regard to the nature of collegiate language teaching. Within this book series, such questioning first gained clear voice in the 1995 AAUSC volume, edited by Claire Kramsch (1995), *Redefining the Boundaries of Language Study*. At the time, editor and authors explored the possibility of expanding theoretical, educational, linguistic, cultural, and language learning boundaries. The aim was to examine not only what was visible and overtly shaped instructed language learning but also what remained invisible, yet strongly privileged certain praxes for all members of an educational context, learners in classrooms, established and apprenticing teachers, and supervisors and coordinators.

As we conceptualized the present volume, we returned to that questioning mode and extended it in two directions. First, our intention was not merely to re-vision the content of what supervisors do within the existing structures of two-year language programs but of expanding their purview to encompass the typical four-year span of undergraduate programs and, given their role in graduate education, to graduate programs as well. That context should then create the possibility for imagining new foreign language educational opportunities, the second intention of the volume. Specifically, our goal was to enable focused attention on an area of language learning that supervisors and coordinators have generally considered outside their purview and their expertise, though societal and academic interests in such learning has grown exponentially over the last few years: the goal of enabling adult collegiate learners to attain levels of ability in a second or third language that would readily be considered "advanced," even though the precise meaning of such a designation would await further specification. Taken together, these two moves mean that the volume extends the necessary intellectual work in two areas, in terms of a new educational site and also in terms of a new educational vision.

Though we knew that shift to be ambitious, we were confident of its overall viability and necessity. As we present the collection of papers, that conviction remains with us, though we are more keenly aware now than at the time of the volume's conceptualization of the considerable difficulties supervisors and coordinators can and, indeed, are likely to experience as they attend to imagining and creating an encompassing undergraduate program that would lead to advanced L2 abilities. To put this observation into perspective, one should, of course, not be surprised that a price is being paid by some for the privileges experienced by others within split foreign language departments that have upheld the goal of competent, advanced language abilities in a second language more as an ideal rather than a reality that obligated them to certain praxes. At present that toll is exerted primarily from language program supervisors and coordinators, a phenomenon that is well known in the context of their daily work.

But our experience as editors now sees repercussions of the phenomenon as well in the broader context of the horizons of imagination and possible sites of action that supervisors feel free to claim for themselves. Furthermore, because their conduct makes up their scholarly and professional identities and thus the contributions they can make to the field, a significant toll is also being taken from the entire field of the study of foreign languages, literatures, and cultures. Sadly, that realization has yet to affect the agenda of the relevant professional organizations, from the American Association of Applied Linguistics to the diverse language-specific AATs to the Modern Language Association as the largest professional organization in the humanities in higher education, nor has it garnered much support from the appropriate administrative units and leaders in institutions of higher education. Happily, the contributors to the volume sustained the merits of our initial assumption: namely that it is the professional group of the supervisors and coordinators and those who have strong affinities to their concerns, including graduate students, that is able to make important contributions to the issues, obstacles not withstanding. They have begun to espouse as educationally desirable and viable a focus on the advanced learner and, with that vision, have begun to create curricular and pedagogical models that would enact and sustain such a focus.

Taken as a group, the contributions have identified and articulated a need for whole program thinking that overcomes the existing structural and content bifurcation in order to develop a foreign-language based intellectual and educational presence for foreign language departments, internally and externally. They do so by exploring what advanced instructed learning at the college level might look like if one were to expand the frame of reference and decision-making to a foreign language department's entire undergraduate program, not just its "language program." This is new territory for many reasons, but one that seems to stand out for its implications for the field. After close to two decades of considerable efforts within the profession toward enabling advanced L2 learning within the proficiency framework and also through adding new content areas, attaining that goal generally eludes foreign language departments. That is, of course, a concern in itself. However, because L2 advanced learning is inherently associated with intellectually meritorious work, the continued inability of language departments to graduate advanced L2 users all too easily translates into strange perceptions: to many observers they seem less able to assert an intellectual presence in the academy now that they have devoted considerable professional energies to communicative language teaching for the many than they seemed to be able to do when they were the literature department for the few.

Viewed in that light, the chapters implicitly broach the difficult question whether the prevailing construct for language acquisition, namely communicative language teaching, itself creates a glass ceiling that makes it difficult both for learners and teachers to develop the kinds of second-language capacities that we generally associate with language use in a range of public settings, in the conduct of civic and political and economic life, in research and public policies, or in the creation of cultural products that are heavily language-dependent (e.g., the printed work in literary and non-literary texts, the media), all areas of language use that we associate with advanced capacities. Some contributions answer it by remaining well within the framework that has, until now, been the most useful for imagining advanced levels of ability, namely a framework derived from the ACTFL Proficiency construct. Because others explicitly or implicitly go beyond its major concepts and programmatic and pedagogical recommendations, readers are invited to consider whether explorations of that kind might better enable programs and teachers to work efficiently and effectively toward the desired goal of advanced levels of L2 ability. Taken together, however, all papers conceptualize content learning as explicitly linked to language and, by extension, to phenomena of adult instructed language acquisition for different learner groups and learning goals. In so doing they bring to the task expertise for addressing programmatic issues that span undergraduate and graduate education, thus helping to re-shape the intellectual discussion of a department from that perspective.

Of course, such proposals uncover as many dilemmas as they offer answers regarding the programmatic consequences, in terms of structures, courses, materials, and pedagogies, that coordinating content and language learning throughout extended programmatic contexts and toward advanced levels of competence might present to foreign language departments. But even at this early stage of deliberations they suggest to departments ways of responding to the insistent demands that are being made of them in a globalized environment, in multicultural societies, and in the academy, demands for highly competent users of multiple languages, even within the boundaries of the typical undergraduate program, and even with the considerable challenges those expectations pose for non-cognate languages or the less commonly taught languages.

We have arranged the volume's contributions in three parts. Part One, "Literacy As a Conceptual Framework for Collegiate Advanced Learning," comprises three chapters that explicitly propose the construct of literacy as a way of expanding the vision and site as well as the programmatic and pedagogical conduct of foreign language departments. Opening this group of papers is Richard Kern's article, "Literacy and Advanced Foreign Language Learning: Rethinking the Curriculum." A continuation of earlier book-length considerations in which he proposed that literacy provides a highly favorable context for much-needed curricular rethinking, his reflections, not insignificantly for this volume, occurred as he directed his university's study abroad program in France. While this context is typically seen as achieving what programs at home don't seem to be able to accomplish, Kern rightly cautions us in that belief: unless we engage in a renewed and invigorated attention to written communication throughout the curriculum, neither study at home nor study abroad will lead to the desired learning outcomes. He pursues this line of thinking by first focusing on the nature of literacy, understood not in terms of fixed constructs akin to the prescriptivism of schools of rhetoric nor as an abandonment of a communicative focus. Instead, literacy focuses on "relationships between readers, writers, texts, culture, and language learning" and is inherently variable and multiple. After expanding on this notion he offers a framework for curricular design that can enhance the development of such forms of literacy by guiding departments and individual instructors through the all-important decisions they will need to make, about the content they might choose to teach, the methodological approach that might facilitate its teaching and, finally, the goals it would support. Referring to the literacy-oriented work of the New London Group and applying its findings and recommendations to teaching methodology, he exemplifies what such an approach might mean on the ground through the central activity of storytelling and through literacy-based projects.

Janet Swaffar's chapter, "A Template for Advanced Learner Tasks: Staging Genre Reading and Cultural Literacy Through the Précis," offers an expansive treatment of a genre that is perhaps better known to literary scholars than it is to language specialists, the précis. In focusing on the précis, she argues persuasively not only for the need to understand language acquisition, particularly more advanced forms of language acquisition, in terms of acquiring sophisticated discursive practices, in the interpretation and production of a variety of textual genres. More important, she presents a rich tapestry of applications for the proposal that the précis can provide a template that teachers and students can use in order to learn to identify the messages, obligatory textual moves, and language features that characterize various genres. This she accomplishes with reference to both fictional and non-fictional genres that are thematically related to the novel *Like Water for Chocolate* and by using, for a range of genres, the fundamental distinctions between formal and informal, private and public discourses and the sender/receiver relationship. In this fashion, she vividly brings to the fore the major characteristics of such genres as the novel, the film, the encyclopedia article, the movie review, and the interview with the artist, in each case comparatively pointing out the features of these respective genres and the interpretive opportunities and the inferential challenges they present to all readers, but particularly to non-native readers. Not only does such a treatment of the précis offer to teachers a finely honed tool for developing students' language ability, wherever learners currently are; it fosters the kind of multi-perspectival, yet textually based approaches that are at the heart of deepened textual understanding and, ultimately, cultural literacy, both characteristics of the advanced language user.

The final chapter with an explicit literacy focus, contributed by Heidi Byrnes and Katherine Sprang and entitled "Fostering Advanced L2 Literacy: A Genre-Based Cognitive Approach," also highlights the potential of a genre approach for curricula and pedagogies that desire to foster advanced L2 capacities. It does so by further specifying the motivation for recommending genre as a construct, inasmuch as such an approach recognizes the short comings of both a form-focused pedagogy (even of much of communicative language teaching) and also of content-based instruction which tends to offer few principles for curricular and pedagogical decision-making that can be sustained over an entire college-level program and that specifically target advanced competencies. Linking genre with a cognitive approach to teaching and learning via genre-based tasks, the chapter provides a close-up look at how one might then enable learners to make the kinds of narrative choices that characterize early advanced learning. Choice is a key component as well in the discussion of learners who are well situated at the advanced level. Located within a treatment of the political speech genre, the authors show that a key characteristic and a key cognitive and linguistic choice for these learners is between two major semiotic perspectives, a congruent and/or synoptic form of semiosis. The chapter concludes with a framework for imagining the lengthy progression toward high levels of competence in instructed learning that the authors call "continua of multiple literacies." Expressed in terms of content, speaker-audience relationships, and features of textuality, it has the potential for supporting both curricular and pedagogical decision-making throughout the undergraduate curriculum and, indeed, well into graduate study.

Part Two, "Heritage Learners as Advanced Learners," focuses on a topic that readily comes to mind when one thinks of both the need and the potential for advanced levels of second language acquisition: the heritage learner. Not surprisingly, closer inspection reveals that matters are far from simple here as well. Daniel Villa begins with a consideration of "Heritage Language Speakers and Upper-Division Language Instruction: Findings from a Spanish Linguistics Program." Among many other points, he makes clear that "the heritage speaker" is hardly a uniform and univalent person, therefore really does not exist, and that even those programs that have a strong desire to integrate such speakers into their offerings are considerably challenged by the educational, curricular, and pedagogical decisions they face. Villa demonstrates the specifics of such a challenge in the context of an upper-division Spanish linguistics program that includes both heritage speakers and non-heritage speakers. By using a learner-centered approach that is inspired by Freirean pedagogical principles, the program is able to be both respectful of the rural working class varieties of Spanish spoken by the students and, by implication, of the students themselves, and also able to connect the reality of the students' sociocultural and linguistic environment to the scientific study of language. The result is an approach to language learning and to linguistics that might well serve as a model not only at institutions with significant heritage learner enrollments but elsewhere.

A concern with all-too-easy reference to "the heritage learner" also informs the chapter by Olga Kagan and Kathleen Dillon, whose focus is on the Russian heritage speaker but whose insights should be able to guide other heritage programs as well. Entitled "Heritage Speakers' Potential for High-Level Language Proficiency", Kagan and Dillon's article first provides a more nuanced description of heritage learners that takes into account a range of characteristics, including heritage language ability, English language ability, length of residence in the heritage-speaking community, and amount of schooling in the heritage language. The authors then outline the curriculum for the undergraduate Russian program at UCLA as a model for fostering advanced language abilities among heritage learners. Recognizing that the development of advancedness among collegiate L2 learners is a long-term process that requires a multi-year departmental commitment, Kagan and Dillon describe the sequence of courses that have been implemented to facilitate the language abilities of a diverse group of heritage learners. More than just a series of courses, the curriculum they present also includes heritage learner-specific materials, instructors trained in heritage language acquisition, and outreach to the heritage language community. They also demonstrate how this curriculum accommodates non-heritage learners and thus allows for the integration of all undergraduate learners of Russian.

Contributions in Part Three, "Contexts for Advanced Learning," are but a sample of the many contexts in which one can imagine advanced learning to take place, even with the stricture of instructed learning as contrasted with naturalistic learning. Casilde Isabelli's chapter, entitled "Study Abroad for Advanced Foreign Language Majors: Optimal Duration for Developing Complex Structures," opens the part with the context that is probably most readily associated with the promise of advanced learning, study abroad. Isabelli acknowledges the intuitive appeal of and the growing interest in study abroad, but she points out that little research has been conducted on the effect that length of stay has on language learning, in general, and the development of advanced language abilities, more specifically. She therefore examines the degree to which collegiate students learn one syntactic structure that is representative of advanced language abilities in Spanish, the null subject parameter, at different stages of study abroad. Framed within a UG-based approach to language acquisition, Isabelli's empirical research study measured participants' use and understanding of the null subject parameter on grammaticality judgment tests and in oral narratives after one month, four months, and nine months of study abroad. Her findings that participants made the greatest gains on the two assessment tools after nine months of study have implications for foreign language departments as they consider how best to integrate study abroad into the undergraduate curriculum. To that end, Isabelli concludes with recommendations for increasing the articulation between study abroad programs and the home department in order to facilitate the continued development of advanced language abilities.

In the next article "'What's Business Got To Do with It?' The Unexplored Potential of Business Language Courses for Advanced Foreign Language Learning" Astrid Weigert presents the context of business language courses as an overlooked yet fertile ground for developing advanced language abilities. Typically existing on the margins of foreign language departments or seen primarily as a boon to class enrollment figures, language for specific purposes programs have largely been viewed as serving students' pre-professional needs and therefore contributing only peripherally to students' overall language competence and intellectual advancement. Weigert, however, argues that such programs can and should belong in the mainstream of departmental culture and exemplifies her position by describing the revision of a German business language course to comply with the literacy and discourse orientation that marks the rest of the undergraduate curriculum. Seeing business language courses as much more than the traditional acquisition of technical vocabulary, she demonstrates how, through the explicit attention to genre, students are able to learn not only the vocabulary specific to a particular business-related topic, but also the discourse-level behaviors typical for that genre in a business context, thereby contributing to their evolving L2 literacy. In so doing, she admonishes the SLA community, business language instructors, and FL departments to seek a broader framework when conceptualizing advanced language learning so that business language programs can become an integral part of the undergraduate curriculum and contribute more effectively to the development of advanced language abilities.

Completing this part is a chapter that refers to a context for foreign language learning and a learner group that, we dare say, is probably an unlikely mention when one speaks of fostering advanced language capacities within the context of undergraduate education and with an audience of language supervisors and coordinators. And yet, as we trust readers will agree, the language abilities of non-native graduate students are of central concern to graduate programs, to undergraduate education, and to the future of the foreign language profession. What makes this contribution all the more appealing is that it offers the perspective of writers who are themselves still graduate students rather than presenting the observations of faculty, administrators, or policy makers. In their paper "Fostering Advanced-Level Language Abilities in Foreign Language Graduate Programs: Application of Genre Theory" Cori Crane, Olga Liamkina, and Marianna Ryshina-Pankova take a two-pronged approach. In the first half of the paper they report on a survey they conducted in which they solicited input from peers in graduate programs across the country regarding their perceived needs for advancing their own language abilities. The responses received were both unsurprising and troubling when one considers the profession's inattentiveness to this important aspect of the development of its future colleagues. But the writers took these data and used them for further analysis, to explore the mental and discursive worlds that these graduate student respondents had created over the many years of their language study as to what constitutes and what leads to advanced L2 abilities.

On that basis, they observe that graduate students do not in general have suitable frameworks for understanding, at the necessary level of specificity, just what constitutes advanced-level language use and, by extension, advanced-level language learning. The significance of that finding is obvious when one recalls that both areas are well-known sites for considerable anxiety among non-native speakers. The authors conclude that only when graduate students have been given the opportunity, in both their undergraduate teaching experience and in their graduate education, to develop a more sophisticated understanding of advanced abilities in terms of domain-specific (and that is genre-specific) features, will they be able to encourage their departments to support them in their own language development or, absent such support, work on their own to enhance their abilities successfully.

The volume concludes with a post-script by Hiram Maxim "Expanding Visions for Collegiate Advanced Foreign Language Learning" in which he examines the prevailing departmental, professional, and research practices in collegiate foreign language learning and argues that they needlessly limit the opportunities for developing advanced language abilities. Particularly problematic for an expanded conceptualization of advanced language learning is the current privileging of spoken language use, naturalistic learning, and a decontextualized notion of learner-centeredness that is not always consistent with the intellectual goals of higher education. In response, he draws on the insights of the preceding chapters, particularly the arguments for a literacy and discourse orientation to advancedness, to propose alternative approaches to envisioning advanced-level competence that reflect a social understanding of language use. Maxim admits the significant challenges to rethinking some of these issues that are central to collegiate foreign language learning, but he also sees such re-visioning as necessary if collegiate foreign language learning is to remain an integral part of an undergraduate humanistic education.

With its focus on new conceptual frameworks for collegiate advanced language learning, the challenges of addressing the advanced language needs of heritage learners, and different contexts for fostering advanced language use, we hope this volume contributes to and expands the nascent discussion on advanced language learning in the profession, and, in particular, provides food for thought to language coordinators and supervisors about new directions for collegiate foreign language learning. As the following chapters indicate, advanced language learning is a pan-departmental challenge that, when viewed as integral to and inseparable from collegiate foreign language learning, has the potential to greatly enrich foreign language education.

American Association of University Supervisors, Coordinators, and Directors of Foreign Language Programs

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PART ONE

Literacy As a Conceptual Framework for Collegiate Advanced Learning

Literacy and Advanced Foreign Language Learning: Rethinking the Curriculum

Richard G. Kern

Abstract

Advanced level language learning has to do with much more than 'language' per se. It requires familiarization with new frames of interpretation, new genres, new social practices, and new ways of thinking in and about the language in question. This chapter argues that these kinds of familiarization are largely issues of literacy, and it explores ways in which literacy can be used as an organizing principle to design language curricula that problematize the linguistic, cognitive, and social relationships that link readers, writers, texts, and culture. Sample literacy project ideas are presented in the Appendix to exemplify this problematizing approach to language teaching.

As I write this paper I am beginning a term of service as Study Center Director for the University of California Education Abroad Programs in Lyon and Grenoble, France. Because all of our year-long program participants enroll in French university courses just like French nationals (and are thus by definition advanced language learners), I am acutely aware of the problems our students face as they attempt to perform their hard-earned competence in an academic setting abroad. I am also aware of the limitations of our lower-division language curricula back home in preparing our students for this kind of academic immersion experience. As far as I can see at present, the main problem is not one of 'language' in the sense of structures and lexicon per se. Our students have enough grammar and vocabulary to get by in their day-to-day lives, looking for housing, buying groceries, making friends, and the like. In fact, most of them are quite well prepared for this aspect of their year abroad. The real problem seems to be one of language use in an academic context. That is, the challenge of understanding and adapting to a different academic culture and, in particular, adapting to the kinds of listening, reading, and writing they are expected to do.

Students arrive in France with the idea that academic language use is pretty much universal, but soon realize that there are subtle yet important differences. For example, extracting the main ideas from a lecture and synthesizing them in a French *résumé* seems a straightforward task, but it proves to be challenging for our students who are thinking in terms of an American 'summary'. Reading is extensive and unguided, requiring students to develop much greater independence and discernment, as well as good skimming abilities. Writing an exam seems like a familiar concept until one gets comments praising one's information recall but deploring one's "lack of method." What our students need to understand is how seemingly familiar language and literacy practices can be slightly or radically different in a foreign cultural matrix. They need to be socialized into new forms of language use (and this includes a focus on form at all levels of the system, from lexicogrammatical choices to discourse organization and genres), but they also need to reflect on how these new forms of language use relate to the ones they are familiar with from their home culture.

Some readers may object that study abroad is a goal for only a small proportion of our students, and that we ought not cater to the needs of that select group in designing our mainstream language curricula. There is some merit to this argument. I am not suggesting that we indoctrinate our students into the particular discourse practices of foreign universities. But if our goal is to promote the highest possible attainment, whether or not our students study abroad, then sooner or later we will be faced with the imperative of familiarizing our students with new frames of interpretation, new genres, new social practices, and new ways of thinking in and about the language. The idea that I would like to present in this paper is that these kinds of familiarization, key to advanced language learning at home *or* abroad, are largely issues of literacy, and demand renewed and invigorated attention to *written* communication throughout the curriculum.

Focus on Literacy

Reading and writing have always been part of the FL curriculum, but they have tended to be treated as straightforward acts of decoding and encoding meaning. It is certainly true that reading and writing involve decoding and encoding, but this is not the whole truth. Beyond psycholinguistic processes like word recognition, parsing, and schema activation lie issues of interpretation that are social as well as cognitive in nature. For example, the word 'libéral' in French has essentially the same dictionary definition as 'liberal' in English, and yet 'politique libérale' usually points to the political right in France, while 'liberal politics' points to the left in the United States. What is all too often lacking in foreign language classrooms is explicit attention to the sociocultural, contextual, and relational factors that influence the particular meanings that speakers, readers, and writers produce—what Galisson (1987) has called the 'çharge culturelle partagée' of language. As a consequence, foreign language students often take half-meanings for whole meanings or they take a normed meaning (that is, *the* meaning/theme/point of a text as expressed by an authority) as the *only* possible meaning. Similarly, they often think of writing in terms of prescribed patterns, seeking the idealized 'best' form for expressing a given set of thoughts (if only they could find it!). Reading and writing certainly do involve prescribed uses of language, but these uses vary across discourse communities (even among academic departments) and students need to be primed for multiple, not singular, literacies.

What I mean by 'literacy', then, is more than reading and writing as skills or as prescribed patterns of thinking. It is about relationships between readers, writers, texts, culture, and language learning. It is about the variable cognitive and social practices of taking and making textual meaning that provide students access to new communities outside the classroom, across geographical and historical boundaries. It involves an awareness of how acts of reading, writing, and conversation *create* and *shape* meanings, not merely transfer them from one individual or group to another. It is precisely because literacy is not monolithic, but variable and multiple, tied to the various sociocultural practices of a given society, that it is of key importance in our teaching of language and culture.

When we consider reading and writing in their social contexts of use—as complementary dimensions of written communication, rather than as distinct linguistic and cognitive skills—we more easily see how they are connected to other dimensions of

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language use. Experience shows that students cannot develop the high level of spoken communication ability required in academic settings without a serious commitment to the study of written communication (e.g., Byrnes 1998). Recent curricular work (Barnes-Karol 2002; Berman 1996; Byrnes 1998, 2000, 2001; Sternfeld 1992; Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes 1991) suggests that literacy can serve as an effective organizing principle for academic language teaching and foster more integrated and coherent instruction within and across levels of the language curriculum.

Focusing on literacy does not mean abandoning a communicative focus and reverting back to a grammar-translation variety of teaching. Rather, it means taking 'communicative language teaching' at its word, exploring the complex relations between written and oral communication, and engaging students in reading and writing as acts of communication that are just as real, and just as social, as speaking and listening. It means sensitizing students to relationships between language, texts, and social contexts, in order to deepen their understanding of language and culture and ultimately to enhance their communicative capacity as human beings.

Consequently, oral communication does not take a back seat in a literacy-based approach. Indeed, effective oral communication in academic settings requires 'literate' sensitivities to the particular ways a language can be used for particular purposes in particular settings. Some preliminary research supports the notion that reading and writing can improve learners' speaking ability. In his ethnographic study of elementary college French students' learning, Loughrin-Sacco (1992) found that reading and writing enhanced students' small-group oral work and "contributed heavily" to their overall speaking ability (p. 98). Similarly, Lightbown (1992) found that young ESL learners in a comprehension-based program were substantially better able to describe pictures than were learners in the regular program, even though the comprehension-based program did not provide in-class speaking practice. Lightbown hypothesizes that the experimental group's superiority in verbal description was a consequence of those learners' more frequent listening and reading of sustained text. Ehri (1987) hypothesizes that written language, by making possible a visual-spatial representation of speech, can enhance memory for speech as well as support the development of metalinguistic skills. Freedle (1985) found that oral recall protocols were much better when they were preceded by written protocols, hypothesizing that "some skills that make for competent writing may be transferable directly to the oral mode" (p. 121).

To illustrate how oral and written modes can be integrated to mutual benefit in a classroom setting, consider the following example of an experimental intermediate-level EFL course in Italy, in which writing was used as a transformative step between reading and speaking in a content-based project on American Indians (Cortese 1985).[1]

Cortese's students first did preliminary background reading in Italian and then chose books in English from a teacher-prepared bibliography according to their particular disciplinary interests (e.g., anthropological, economic, historical, political perspectives). Students had one month to read and to prepare an oral report on the book's main topics and lines of argument as well as the writer's attitudes as reflected in the text. Because students' oral performance had previously consisted mostly of brief utterances, Cortese realized that her students needed practice in discourse planning and cohesion devices before they could effectively deliver their reports. She addressed this need by having students write and peer edit successive drafts of their oral presentations. Through the writing process, Cortese observed that her students became more aware "that problems of meaning derived only to a limited extent from lexical items or lack of grammatical accuracy" (p. 15) and that writing allowed them to deal in a concrete way with the transition from speaking in brief utterances to producing extended, connected discourse. After their written exposés were completed, Cortese's role shifted from one of facilitator to that of explicit language instructor: she systematically dealt with common problems ranging from diction to syntax to rhetorical organization by taking several examples of each problem from students' writing and reworking the samples with the whole class.

Following their oral reports, the students then did a simulation of a United States Supreme Court hearing concerning a land claim. This simulation involved a wide range of testimony role-plays. Students worked together in small groups, wrote out their speeches, and videotaped their final performance for evaluation purposes. Cortese notes that providing students with these project-oriented reading and writing tasks brought her students to a whole new level of expressive sophistication in their speaking:

> The variety of speech acts which the students could handle in connected discourse was substantially greater than at the beginning of the course. But it was the ability to convey point of view and illocutionary force, to match verbal behavior to its intended effect, and to use codes appropriate to the interacting partner … that was most rewarding, as one could see the participants actually *doing* things with words (p. 22).

This example shows us a number of points about literacy in relation to language learning. First of all, we can see that literacy involves more than reading and writing in a strict sense. Literacy events (Heath 1983) often involve a broad range of written, *as well as oral* language use. Here students were reading, discussing, writing, and role-playing in multiple overlapping cycles, with each mode of language use affecting all others.

Second, following from this point, we can see that literacy is social and collaborative in nature. In this classroom project the students were not working in isolation but with the feedback and assistance of their peers and the teacher. But even in non-group situations, people write for an audience (including themselves), and their decisions about what needs to be said and what can go without saying are based on their understanding of their audience. When people read they must contribute their motivation, knowledge, and experience in order to make a text meaningful. All too often we ask our students to do what they usually consider the most difficult tasks—reading and writing—in isolation at home. One of the goals of literacy-based language teaching is to bring reading and writing into the interactive, collaborative sphere of the classroom.

Third, literacy depends on conventions. How people read and write is not universal but governed by cultural conventions. But conventions evolve through use and people modify them as needed for their own individual purposes. Here the students had to adapt their language (i.e., use some unfamiliar conventions) to make their communication more appropriate for the medium and context of expression (though the conventions were no doubt modified to suit their language abilities). Once appropriated, these conventions become resources for subsequent language use.

Fourth, literacy involves interpretation. When we write we interpret the world (events, experiences, ideas, etc.), and when we read we interpret a writer's interpretation in terms of our own conception of the world. Interpretation is guided by social conventions but also by individual insight. The students in this class had to interpret arguments and attitudes from both written and oral discourse. They also had to interpret (and reinterpret) the project tasks.

Fifth, literacy involves active thinking. Because words are always embedded in linguistic and situational contexts, reading and writing involve figuring out relationships between words, between larger units of meaning, and between texts and real or imagined worlds. Here one of the key problems Cortese's students had to confront was how to move from short utterances to extended discourse. The solution involved a combination of overt instruction, writing, reflection, and interaction.

Sixth, literacy is recursive. Because reading and writing allow students to go back repeatedly to the texts they read and write, literacy can foster analysis and reflection about the processes of producing and interpreting meaning through language. Here, students' successive drafts of their oral presentations increased their awareness of the multiple dimensions of making meaning and eased the transition to extended discourse. Rereading, rewriting, and rethinking are key not only to language learning but also to the development of critical analytical abilities. This is an important point made repeatedly by Swaffar (1991, 1993a, 1993b).

In the following sections we will consider how these features of literacy might help us design curricula focused on the linguistic, cognitive, and social relationships between readers, writers, texts, and culture in order to prepare our students for the broadest range of language use, in ways that are consistent with the goals of the national *Standards for Foreign Language Learning*.

Curriculum Design

First a few words about curriculum design. Curriculum can be thought of as a conceptual map of what students and teachers do over time, and the relationships among the various things they do. This conceptual map encodes decisions about *what* to teach (i.e., content), *how* to teach it (i.e., method and sequencing) and *why* (i.e., goals). These decisions are always based on educators' beliefs about the nature of learning, the nature of what is to be taught, and the nature of the learners and the learning institution. Curriculum is therefore inevitably bound to context, culture, and ideology.

As Byrnes (2000) points out, however, curriculum can (and too often does) occur by default rather than by conscious design. That is to say, curriculum can be an "accidental outcome" when professors' intellectual energy is focused at the level of individual courses and any linkages between courses are left for students to forge on their own. Curriculum by design, on the other hand, happens when a department's teaching faculty collaboratively develops a vision of the desired educational outcomes for their students and designs a coherent academic plan for achieving that collective vision. It is in the interest of fostering discussion of this type that I propose literacy as an organizing principle for academic language teaching.

Goals of the Curriculum: Rethinking the Aims of Language Study

The realities of language use militate against strict boundaries separating reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Speech in certain contexts can resemble writing; writing in certain contexts can resemble speech. Consequently, listening to lectures and speeches requires modes of understanding normally associated with reading. Conversely, reading dialogue or personal narrative style in novels requires considerable knowledge of how language is used in spoken contexts. Effective participation in a verbal debate or formal discussion demands 'literate' speech, whereas writing an engaging narrative often involves conveying an 'orate' tone of personal involvement. The ability to write well cannot be learned without reading. Moreover, writing demands some understanding of readers and how they will likely read the text. By the same token, sensitive, analytic reading may require a 'writer's eye'.

Given these realities, an integrated approach is called for in organizing the language curriculum. While it can of course be desirable to focus narrowly on discrete skills at various points in a language curriculum, we cannot lose sight of the essential interconnectedness of all aspects of language use. An overarching goal of literacy can provide a unifying focus by drawing students' attention to the interactions among form, context, and function in all their uses of language—whether they are speaking, listening, reading, or writing. Furthermore, a focus on literacy removes the artificial separation of skills and content. Because language use itself becomes an object of analysis and reflection, it provides a source of intellectual content.

A literacy-based curriculum:

- aims to prepare learners to interpret multiple forms of language use (oral and written) in multiple contexts (some perhaps quite different from those learners are familiar with).
- fosters communicative ability in a new language, but also emphasizes within that general goal the development of learners' ability to recursively analyze, interpret, and transform discourse (thus encouraging a 'metacommunicative' awareness of how discourse is derived from relations between language use, contexts of interaction, and larger sociocultural contexts).
- aims to integrate communicative approaches to language teaching with more analytic, text-based approaches—it does not represent an out-and-out replacement of current 'communicative' curricula so much as an enhancement that places full value on written and visual communication, as well as on oral communication. That is to say it is "communicative," but in the very broadest sense of the term.
- incorporates a range of written, spoken, visual, and audiovisual texts that broadly represent the particular signifying practices of a society.
- pays attention to the *relationships* among the particular text types, particular purposes, and particular conventions of reading and writing in particular contexts.
- problematizes discourse and provides learners with structured guidance in the thinking that goes into reading, writing, and speaking appropriately for particular contexts.
- focuses on linguistic, cognitive, and social dimensions of language use in an integrated way, bringing reading and writing into the mainstream interactive realm of the classroom.
- encourages students to take an active, critical stance to the discourse conventions we teach them.
- attempts to establish these as common goals across introductory, intermediate, and advanced levels of language study.

The curriculum shares with communicative language teaching an emphasis on problem solving in the sense of piecing together meanings in context and figuring out what is appropriate to say and do in various situations. But it also moves beyond problem-solving to include *problematizing* the sayings, doings, and meanings that are encountered along the way. That is to say, it is based not only on cognitive theories of understanding and learning but also on social and critical theories of language and literacy. Where interpretation is concerned, normative, 'native' interpretations are not the goal. Instead, the goal is for students to begin to understand how the interpretations they *do* come up with (sometimes distinctly non-native) are influenced by their beliefs, attitudes, and experiences—in other words, by their 'world' as constituted by their culture.

Compatibility with National Standards

The above goals of a literacy-based curriculum mesh extremely well with the goals of the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project (1996). Below are the Five Cs the Standards Task Force established as goals for foreign language learners in the United States. In summarizing the goal statements I have italicized key words to highlight the similarities to the features of literacy described on pages 5 and 6 and to the curricular goals listed above.

Communication	Understanding and *interpreting* written and spoken language on varied topics, communicating in meaningful and *appropriate* ways, taking *audience* and *context* into account (i.e., rhetorical demands—this requires being able to shift frames of reference, norms, assumptions of what can and can't be said, and so forth).
Cultures	Understanding *relationships* between the *social practices, cultural products, and perspectives* (beliefs, values, attitudes, ideas) of people in the foreign culture (i.e., reading a cultural 'code' through texts).
Connections	Strengthening *knowledge* of other disciplines through language study—art, music, film studies, history, etc.; acquiring information and *recognizing viewpoints* available through the language and its cultures (i.e., seeing how different rules of interpretation operate in a different disciplinary and/or cultural system).
Comparisons	Understanding the nature of language/culture through *comparisons* of the language/culture studied and their own (i.e., thinking critically about cultural systems and about how languages work).
Communities	*Participating in* multilingual *communities* at home and around the world for personal enjoyment and enrichment. Literacy is key here since writing and the visual media are the primary means by which we learn about and relate to past and present worlds outside our immediate community. When we examine the particular ways that language is used to capture and express ideas and experiences, we not only learn a great deal about the conventions of the language—we also begin to glimpse the beliefs and values that underlie another people's culture and uses of language. This lies at the very heart of the FL Standards project (five Cs summarized, with my commentary, from the National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project 1996, p. 9).

The Standards also explicitly move us away from an orientation toward the four skills of listening, reading, speaking, writing, and move us toward a focus on *interpersonal, interpretive,* and *presentational modes*—these latter two modes being clearly issues of literacy.

The What and the How of the Curriculum

The specific content and implementation of a language curriculum must be determined according to the language in question, local goals, student needs, materials, and resources. Nevertheless, some general guidelines can be sketched out in broad terms, and I will attempt such a sketch in the sections that follow.

Four Curricular Components

In developing activities and tasks to accomplish the above aims of a literacy-based curriculum, it is useful to refer to four curricular components proposed by the New London Group (1996)—a team of ten literacy scholars from Australia, Great Britain, and the U.S., including Courtney Cazden, Bill Cope, Norman Fairclough, James Gee, and Gunther Kress, among others, who held their first meeting in New London, Connecticut. The four components are: situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing, and transformed practice.

Situated practice is immersion in language use, with an emphasis on apprenticeship, experience, pattern recognition, and socialization. The focus is on communicating in the 'here and now', on learners' personal experiences, and on the spontaneous expression of their thoughts, opinions and feelings, without conscious reflection or metalanguage. The competencies involved in situated practice correspond to Cummins' (1981) notion of context-embedded language use, or BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills). The other three curricular components—overt instruction, critical framing, and transformed practice—contribute to what Cummins called CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency), which tends not to develop automatically from social interaction but which is of key importance to academic success.

Overt instruction entails developing an explicit metalanguage so that the teacher and students can identify, talk about, and learn the various elements that contribute to particular meanings in communication. Pedagogically, it involves creating scaffolded learning activities, not just drills and memorization. Overt instruction therefore introduces an element of conscious control as well as a vocabulary to allow students to talk about communication processes.

Critical framing has to do with the reflective, analytical dimension of language and literacy teaching. Whereas situated practice focuses on the immediate 'here and now', critical framing involves stepping back and looking at the 'then and there' of communication. It involves drawing on the metalanguage that was developed through overt instruction to direct learners' attention to relationships among elements within the linguistic system as well as relationships between language use and social contexts and purposes. Critical framing thus engages the ability to critique systems and their relations to other systems in terms of power, ideology, and values (New London Group 1996).

Transformed practice involves acts in which students create new texts on the basis of existing ones, or reshape texts to make them appropriate for contexts of communication other than those for which they were originally intended. It therefore entails seeing relationships across contexts of cultural expression (oral, textual, visual, audiovisual, etc.). Writing an analytic essay about a text that has been read would be one common academic example of transformed practice. The focus here is on the process of designing meaning to suit the constraints of both immediate and larger sociocultural contexts.

We can think of these four components as the 'basic food groups' needed to meet language learners' literacy 'nutritional needs', to borrow a metaphor from Schachter (1983).

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Situated practice and overt instruction have traditionally constituted the bulk of language teaching at the beginning and intermediate levels. Necessary as they are, they are not sufficient for the development of students' critical or cultural understanding of language, literacy, and communication. In fact, the New London Group (1996) contends, "both immersion and many sorts of Overt Instruction are notorious as socializing agents that can render learners quite uncritical and unconscious of the cultural locatedness of meanings and practices" (p. 85). Unfortunately, the complementary nutritional elements of critical framing and transformed practice are all too often either reserved for the elite in advanced-level courses or not provided at all. A major goal of a literacy-based language curriculum, then, is to provide a well-balanced instructional 'diet' for all language learners at *all* levels of the curriculum.

That is not to say, however, that every task and activity need involve all four components. The Cortese project cited earlier emphasized overt instruction (training in discourse strategies, cohesion devices, diction, syntax, rhetorical organization) and transformed practice (transforming content gained through reading into a written draft and then an oral report, then retransforming into a simulation and role-plays). Critical framing was involved to some extent in the peer editing activities, but was not the major thrust of this project. Had the teacher wanted to highlight this component, students could have been asked to analyze and compare their forms of language use in the written and oral (videotaped) contexts or to evaluate the effectiveness of their verbal interaction in the recorded simulation and role plays. The sample project ideas presented in the Appendix of this chapter emphasize primarily situated practice and critical framing. The point is that in the context of the curriculum, all four components should be represented over the *complete range* of classroom and extramural activities, but not necessarily within any given one.

Implications of a Literacy-based Curriculum for Teaching Methodology

The core principle of a literacy-based approach to language teaching is getting students to see texts (including their own!) as information systems that reflect cultural systems and that are interpreted (in both conventional and idiosyncratic ways) in particular contexts. The goal is not only to teach content but also to ***model a problematizing approach to learning*** that learners can take with them and continue to apply in new contexts that they encounter beyond the classroom (e.g., study abroad, social work, independent research, international internships, etc.). Key to this approach is asking critical questions that problematize meaning in discourse (written as well as oral). The sample project ideas in the Appendix broadly exemplify this problematizing approach.

As far as sequencing is concerned, the traditional way to organize language curriculum is to have students master successively larger constituent elements, beginning with phrases, then sentences, then paragraphs, and finally extended discourse. Such a sequence may be eminently logical, but it does not mesh well with the psychological needs of language learners who strive to communicate in meaningful, whole acts. Although it is certainly important to focus learners' attention on linguistic elements, a literacy-based approach stresses the need to do this without glossing over or ignoring the interaction of contextual elements. Instead of progressing from micro to macro, a literacy-focused approach starts from the beginning with complete utterances and texts. These can be broken down and analyzed in terms of their component structures, but always with the 'big picture' and meaning relationships (both overt and covert) in mind.

Although there are many ways that whole texts can be used from the early stages of language learning (Kern 2000; Swaffar, Arens, and Byrnes 1991; Wallace 1992), we will consider just two categories of activities—storytelling and projects—to illustrate the implementation of the goals and principles set forth above.

Storytelling

Oral storytelling is a particularly good activity in beginning level courses. Teachers can gauge the complexity of their language to a level that they know their students will understand. Students follow the rhythm of the storyteller—whose gestures, facial expressions, and stress and intonation patterns help to clarify meaning—without worrying unduly about words they don't understand (situated practice). Storytelling is also a good way to involve advanced students in the curriculum, by having them visit first- and second-year classes to tell oral versions of stories they have read in their literature classes (transformed practice). This benefits the beginners in that they get to enjoy a preview of stories they will later read if they continue in their study of the language (recycling of texts), and they get plentiful (and enjoyable) listening comprehension practice. For the advanced students, the process of simplifying a complex narrative forces them to identify what they consider to be the essential elements of the story (these choices could be profitably compared among students if critical framing is a goal) and gives them practice in making their language comprehensible to beginners or intermediates—a particularly important experience for those students who eventually plan to teach the language.

Anokye (1994) offers further ideas suitable for those who have developed a basic competence in the language. She outlines three types of storytelling tasks: folktale, personal ancestor, and personal narrative. Each starts with an oral telling and leads to a written version. The first step is to discuss the questions: What is a story? Why do we tell them? and What makes a good story? (situated practice). Other key questions for students to think about include: To whom am I telling the story? What might the audience know or not know about the situation or culture surrounding the story? What background information might need to be explained? What do I intend for the audience to take away from the experience of hearing my story? (pp. 49-50).

The teacher tells a story first (one of the three types students will be telling), which is followed by a discussion of the story's meaning and implications as well as the similarities between storytelling and writing (critical framing). Anokye's ESL students then each tell a folktale from their own culture. This not only gives students extended speaking practice (situated practice), but also provides the listeners a chance to analyze and discuss the values, customs, and social conditions expressed in the story (critical framing). Anokye reports that this initial storytelling not only sensitizes learners to audience, purpose, explanation, illustration, and logic, but also leads to greater awareness and tolerance of cultural differences (critical framing).

The second story is about the 'furthest back' family ancestor about whom they can get information. The third is a traditional assignment of telling about a striking personal experience and how it affected them. All three storytellings can be used as prewriting activities in that after each telling, students discuss issues of audience, purpose, style, and so forth. Students can tape record their stories, transcribe them, and analyze the features they can identify in the oral narratives, such as repetition, pauses, fillers, use of coordination rather than subordination, etc. With the teacher's help they can then discuss ways in which a written version might overlap and where different lexical, syntactic, and organizational features might be needed (critical framing). A sample transcription is then transformed into a written version on the blackboard or on an overhead projector. Students can then transform their transcribed oral stories into written versions (transformed practice), drawing on the written narrative conventions brought out in the class discussion.

Projects

We saw in the case of Cortese's class how literacy-based projects can benefit linguistic, cognitive, and social goals in language learning. Because literacy-focused language teaching emphasizes depth over breadth, individual and collaborative projects are particularly well suited, developing discourse competence and integrating various language skills. In the Appendix I have included three sample literacy-based projects for advanced-level learners, to give some flavor of the kinds of tasks that can be set for students in order to focus on relationships between language, texts, contexts and culture.

The first of these project ideas ("colonialism") explores the theme of colonialism as represented at various times and in various media and the effects that colonialism has had on many nations of the world.The goal is to get students asking questions about cultural influence and transformation, which prepares them for the second project. This project ("transmission and translation of culture") focuses on the ways that countries sharing a common language diverge and overlap culturally. Here the goal is to use texts as data to develop and test hypotheses, and to focus on the bases of interpretation.The third project ("crime") involves analysis of the representation (and construction) of social categories through language and the media.

Working backwards to earlier stages in the curriculum, themes appropriate for projects at the novice/intermediate stages of language learning are those most closely tied to the students' own experiences, such as home and family, school and/or work, leisure activities, food and drink, hobbies and interests, and so forth.As van Ek (1986) points out, such themes are very personal ones and so are socioculturally 'marked', revealing sociocultural characteristics of the language community.Through written texts, students can compare how various members of the target culture talk and write about these same themes in their own language.

Conclusion

If we want to best prepare our students for meaningful experiences in contexts of intercultural communication we must reassess our priorities in teaching foreign languages at the college and university level.What I have argued for in this paper is a focus on literacy as an organizing principle for foreign language curricula.This is not to suggest that spoken communication should be de-emphasized, but rather that it be broadly integrated with written communication, in order to address what Swaffar (1999) posits as the key question for foreign language education:"How do individuals and groups use words and other sign systems in context to intend, negotiate, and create meanings?" (p. 7).

Most foreign language curricula do a good job of getting students to speak, listen, read, and write the language (i.e., situated practice) in the early stages of foreign language learning. They tend to be less successful at getting students to learn to critically evaluate their own and others' language use—not from a prescriptive stance, but from a metacommunicative stance (critical framing).They tend to focus on language as a closed autonomous system, ignoring or downplaying (1) non-lexical and non-syntactic signification (e.g., silences, ellipses, formatting conventions, etc.) and (2) cross-cultural differences in genres and rhetorical notions and the assumptions that underlie them (e.g., what constitutes a 'cause', what constitutes an 'argument' in the two languages/cultures).

Texts—written, oral, visual, audio-visual—offer more than something to talk about (i.e., content for the sake of practicing language).They offer students the chance to position themselves in relation to distinct viewpoints and distinct cultures.They give students the chance to make connections between grammar, discourse, and meaning, between language and content, between language and culture, and between another culture and their own. These connections are not easy to make, but they are essential, as I am learning from the students I am working with in an education abroad context. The more we can model the kinds of thinking that literacy demands the better we can prepare our students for the broadest range of language use and allow them to achieve their full communicative potential.

Notes

1. This classroom example highlights the benefit of reading and writing for speech, but Tannen (1983) shows that the interplay between written and oral communication works in the other direction as well—that so-called 'oral' discourse strategies may in fact be crucial to effective writing and reading:

   > Successful writing requires not the production of discourse with no sense of audience but, rather, the positing of a hypothetical reader and playing to the needs of that audience . . . the act of reading efficiently is often a matter not so much of decoding . . . but of discerning a familiar text structure, hypothesizing what information will be presented, and being ready for it when it comes. By making maximum use of context, good readers may be using oral strategies (p. 91).

2. The Standards' separation of interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational modes may not correspond directly to a psycholinguistic reality any more than the separation of speaking, listening, reading, and writing do but they effectively highlight real social functions of academic language use and therefore lend themselves well to an integrative, literacy-based curriculum.
3. Obviously certain languages (e.g., Arabic, Chinese, Hindi/Urdu) demand a great deal more time than others for the development of basic abilities and automaticity—especially in reading and writing. Tasks involving critical framing and transformed practice therefore require especially careful planning in the less commonly taught languages so that student abilities can be realistically matched at any given level. Nevertheless, such tasks are crucially important in the development of advanced level proficiency in all languages.

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Appendix

Sample Literacy Project Ideas

The sample projects below illustrate how many different sources of information can be integrated around a central theme. The overriding goal of such projects is to get students to look in several different ways at the culture under examination through texts. By seeing multiple perspectives on the same (or similar) events, information, or ideas, students can begin to acquire the tools needed to recognize the complex dynamics at work in the design of meaning. This approach invites multiple and contradictory interpretations for discussion, rather than suggesting a monolithic unified vision of the society under examination, in the hope that the sum of those multiple interpretations might ultimately more closely approximate the culture. Each of the three projects described below could be the central focus of a course, or embedded within the framework of an advanced level language-culture course. I am indebted to Ann Delehanty for helping me develop these project ideas.

Project 1: Colonialism

Goal: To examine the effects of colonialism on the nations of the world. There is a huge body of literature, news media, and film on this subject. The instructor should try to focus on a very specific area so that students can get to know it well.

Curricular components emphasized: situated practice, critical framing.

Procedure:

1. A historical presentation of the time line of colonization can be presented first, along with any documents that might prove interesting. For example, in the case of the American continent (for ESL/EFL learners), one might begin by reading Christopher Columbus' diaries which contain his impressions of the sublime largeness of all things American; Native American or Aztec pictorial representations of the conquest; any of the late 18th century political documents debating and asserting American independence.

   Students can compare initial impressions of the land/landscape to the 'realities' of that land/landscape. From there students might begin to discuss how myths were produced out of those impressions.

2. Students should choose which country or region they wish to focus on. They can look at the changes that took place in the region or country as a result of colonialism. Students can examine many 'objects' or attitudes that get transferred from one culture to another, such as music, clothing, customs, language, prejudices, illness (syphilis, AIDS, plagues), myth.

3. Students can ask themselves what kind of colonialism takes place today. Is it less or more overt than earlier colonialism? Some possible types of colonialism are:
   - Media (entertainment, news, publicity)
   - Corporate (multi-nationals, international finance)
   - Biological or scientific (availability of medication, bio-technology)
   - Military intervention
   - Literacy (availability of books)
   - Violence (weapons, arms transfers)

4. The research produced by the students' efforts can produce many different debates about the colonized subject or the colonized nation. The following are a few sample questions that might serve for a brief debate:
   - What is the colonized 'subject'? Does colonialism change everyone down to the level of the individual?
   - Are there fruitful comparisons to be made between a colonized subject of the past and figures of today?
   - What is the political model where colonialism is possible? How has today's model changed that, if at all?

- What steps can be taken or have been taken to resist colonialism?
- What kind of global society do we want?
- Should there be borders between nations? Do borders and nations merely encourage a colonialist model?
- How is national identity constructed? Should the nation's identity try to be empty of all outside influences?

Project 2: Transmission and Translation of Culture

Goal: To look at several different sites where culture has been transferred between two different geographic locations (e.g., France and Cameroon, England and the U.S., Spain and Cuba, etc.). Students will look for influence in both directions. In many of these cases, the transmission happened under colonialism, so an understanding of colonialism (see Project 1 above) may be necessary to the project.

Curricular components emphasized: situated practice, critical framing.

Procedure:

1. Ask the students to list the various cultural objects that have been transmitted from culture to culture in the past (especially under colonialism). Also create a list of cultural objects that are being transmitted today (in an era supposedly free from colonialism).
2. Choose two countries for the students to examine. Teachers may wish to choose countries based on the kinds of resources they have available (e.g., newspapers, magazines, films, songs, etc.).
3. Below are some sample categories and questions that might be asked about each:

Media:

Bring in newspaper articles, news clips or magazine articles from both countries (preferably covering the same story). Questions: How are events treated differently or similarly, both across and within the two cultures? How does the written language compare to the spoken language (i.e., is written Cameroonian French more similar to written 'standard' French than spoken Cameroonian French is to spoken Parisian French?).

Show a newscast from each country. Ask students to look at the different ways that images are presented (Are there pictures of dead bodies? Do the newspeople film extremely violent acts?). How is the story framed? Questions: What is the top story? What do the newscasters look like? How do their respective pronunciations of the language compare (Is there a standard pronunciation for this language?)?

Language:

Show the students a film/video or play them a cassette representing the language as it is spoken in both countries. Be sure to ask the students to try to imitate both accents. Questions: What are the differences in speaking the different languages? What syllables get accented differently? How are questions and exclamations intoned? Are there any words that are specific to that country that don't exist in the other country? What idiomatic phrases are there?

Political Systems:

Bring in a political document from each country (e.g., constitution, treaty, address by the president/prime minister, etc.—these are often available at national web sites). Compare the rhetoric of each document. What are the stated goals of the document? Are the citizens of the country deemed to be equal participants, subjects, workers? What is the language of the document? Which country's system would you think is preferable? Why? Ask the students to do research about the political systems of each country. How are they historically linked? How have they diverged? If there was a revolution against the 'mother' country, how did it happen and what was the resultant political system in the former colony?

Music and Dance:

Play a song from each country (e.g., a recording of a troubadour love song and a song by Julio Iglesias; a Kenyan pop song, e.g., by Daniel Owino Misiani and the Shirati Band; a piece by an American rap artist). Ask students to listen for the rhythm, lyrics and intonation of the singing. This subject has been covered at length with regard to Latin music's roots in Africa and Spain in the film "Routes of Rhythm" (58m, English and Spanish). Show a musical or a dance from each country. Ask students to note body posture, rhythm, dress, and dynamics between the sexes (if couples are dancing, who leads?). This topic is addressed in the film "Sex and Social Dance" (male and female roles in dance in Morocco, U.S., Polynesia: RM Arts, WNET/New York, 57m, English, French and Arabic).

Project 3: Crime

Goal: Students investigate the different fictionalized approaches to crime upon which films, novels, and comic books depend. The project is meant to involve reading, watching, and writing. The cultural value of the project is that it can be expanded to research the mores of a society, answering questions such as: What is right? What is wrong? How is wrong punished? Where are moral lines drawn? Is crime subjective? and so forth. By focusing on a single social issue, students can become 'experts' on one aspect of the society. Ideally, they can take their findings to a cultural insider and have productive discussions about this controversial topic.

Curricular components emphasized: situated practice, critical framing, transformed practice.

Possible Genres and Procedures:

Newspaper/Media Sources:

From real-life dramas, students can find answers to the following questions: What is criminal in the society being studied? How are those crimes prosecuted? What are the worst crimes? What crimes would not be criminal elsewhere?

Examining sensationalist media, students can discuss what kinds of crimes are considered shocking in this society. They can discuss the difference between transgression and criminality.

Justice System:

If a constitution is available, students can read the constitution of this country. They can also study the structure of government in the country. All these structures determine what is deemed right and wrong. By looking at specific laws of the country, they might discover very illuminating cultural data (e.g., what would it mean for gum chewing in public to be outlawed?).

Philosophy:

If a philosophical text is available, students can look at the moral code as laid bare by a philosopher. Students can compare the philosopher's vision of society to the vision(s) represented in the popular media or by the justice system.

Film:

Film can take criminality to new levels by romanticizing or brutalizing it. Students can watch almost any film to find criminality and transgression. By focusing on the genre of film, students might begin to ask why we consider crime to be entertainment.

Sample films in French:
Birgit Haas Must Be Killed (Haynemann, 1981, 105m, French)
Bob le Flambeur (Melville, 1955, 102m, French)
Buffet Froid (Blier, 1979, 95m, French)
Cat and Mouse (Lelouch, 1975, 107m, French)
Diabolique (Clouzot, 1955, 107m, French)
Elevator to the Gallows (Malle, 1957, 87m, French)

Writing:

While the above items involve essentially critical framing, writing can be the principal vehicle for transformed practice. Throughout the semester, students could creatively apply the mores and attitudes explored above by writing an ongoing serial drama. This might take the form of a murder mystery, police drama, soap opera or detective novel. A group of students might wish to create a common body of characters and, from that, create a collection of episodes that combines the various adventures that students make up.

A Template for Advanced Learner Tasks: Staging Genre Reading and Cultural Literacy Through the Précis

Janet Swaffar

Abstract

This chapter illustrates how to use the précis as a template for pedagogical tasks that integrate comprehension and production practice in ways that can enable learners to identify the messages, obligatory textual moves, and language features of various genres. Exemplified with reference to both fictional and non-fictional genres that are thematically related to the novel Like Water for Chocolate, *précis tasks are shown to originate in terms of specific genre features, such as distinctions between formal and informal, private and public discourses, and the language situation (sender/receiver relationship). I argue that only after identifying characteristics of the media presentation, genre conventions, and handling of stereotypes are students in a position to analyze and articulate textual information in a culturally appropriate fashion. Examples also show how students who compare key differences between various thematically-related genres can construct verifiable bases for drawing inferences about the broader cultural implications of such changes, thereby becoming competent advanced users of a second language.*

Advanced learners, initially defined as college students whose language proficiency qualifies them to take courses at upper division college levels, have been the subject of little study until recent years. It was assumed that, if foreign language (FL) programs offered courses in great literature and the finer points of grammar, the needs of advanced learners would be served. In the past decade, FL departments have begun to rethink what to teach and how to teach it. More information about the processes involved in acquiring advanced language competence has become available, the profession has turned to cultural studies, and trends in linguistics have stressed the role of genre, audience, and sociohistorical contexts in determining what texts say. (For an extended treatment of these issues, see Swaffar and Arens, forthcoming.)

That rethinking has commenced with a new look at language itself. For example, sociolinguists have established the degree to which language use is inseparable from textual meaning. The choice of words, the topics raised, the order in which points are addressed, the degree of directness or obliqueness with which, for example, exhortations, complaints, or eulogies occur, all involve distinct discursive and rhetorical patterns that are associated with different genres in public and private social settings. If learners are to comprehend and navigate multiple FL discourses at this level, they will, first and foremost, have to acquire the L2 defined in terms of these kinds of discursive practices.

The chapter explores pedagogies that will support learners in taking this step, a fundamental component of their developing L2 literacy. It will first specify the broad notion of discourse capacity in terms of the construct of genre. For purposes of this discussion genre is understood as oral and written rhetorical practice which enacts culturally embedded communicative situations in a highly predictable fashion, thereby creating horizons of expectations, to use Hans Robert Jauss' (1982) terminology, that enable comprehension and communication in culturally valorized ways. Using that genre basis, the paper will then present the précis as a template for advanced learner tasks that employs the inherent predictability of genres as a pedagogical tool to facilitate the analysis of textual information. (For additional discussion of the link between genre and the précis, see Crane, Liamkina, and Ryshina-Pankova, this volume.) This pedagogical use of the précis for enhancing L2 literacy will be exemplified with a number of genres that occur with great frequency in advanced collegiate content classes: the novel, the book review, the movie synopsis, the interview, and the film. I have chosen Laura Esquivel's novel *Like Water for Chocolate* not only because it is a popular choice for advanced classes, but also because it has enjoyed a wide reception in the United States. For that reason it has occasioned the natural occurrence of all these genres around one theme. My goal is to show how an understanding of the précis within its genre context can enable instructors to aid their students in uncovering a genre's diverse message patterns and the linguistic foundations of those messages. Through that cognitive and linguistic engagement students will link their existing knowledge to the content-form patterns instantiated in the L2 text—where that linking is one first way of capturing essential qualities of advanced learning and the advanced learner.

Genres and the Advanced Learner

Specifying the Challenges for Advanced Learners

An advanced learner can be variously defined, depending on the practices of departments with regard to placement and sequencing of students. In this paper I define advanced learners in a straightforward fashion as those whose language competencies enable them to enroll in non-sequenced, topic courses that a department designates as advanced or upper division. Presumably, such students have encountered multiple genres in prior course work or in other language use situations, but they are not necessarily familiar with using the structures and obligatory textual moves of genres as the basis for their reading comprehension and as models for their speaking and writing.

That is, they have had little, if any, systematic practice in recovering, replicating, and reproducing the formalisms that define genres in the target culture (if, indeed, they have such practice in their own culture). Also, they have probably not worked extensively with extended discourse—texts of more than three or four printed pages—and have rarely been asked to do more than describe or possibly contrast genres. As advanced learners, however, they will confront considerably more daunting demands.

These demands do not reside solely in the need for more vocabulary and more sophisticated use of grammatical forms. They also stem from the cognitive claims that longer texts (whether read or verbalized by students in spoken or written form) place on student recall and their ability to synthesize information. Finally, such demands stem from pedagogical tasks associated with advanced work in comprehension and production of diverse genres: analysis of textual information and a genre's implications, and ways of interpreting its messages in a larger, socio-historical context.

In addition to linguistic challenges, these tasks may well present the advanced learner with unfamiliar cultural variables found in the genres themselves. Very possibly, the genres students have used in lower levels have not differed much from those used in North America or England: they have read, listened to, and talked or written about advertisements, nursery rhymes, songs, soap operas, fairy tales, newspaper articles, or web based texts. They have not, however, been challenged in any systematic way to confront the systems of similarity and difference that make two different cultural products out of genres that, on the surface, seem alike.

More advanced courses will, however, often focus on one or more genres that are distinctive for the culture of the language studied. That is, students read and discuss for the first time not only longer but also more complex genres. Even in Western languages with Latin alphabets these genres differ from the familiar soap operas or fairy tales with their stock characters and repertoire of predictable behaviors. Magazine articles and biographies often contain not only unfamiliar moves and sequences, but also contextual factors that contribute to inhibiting student comprehension.

Reconsidering Genres as Enacting Communication Situations

Whereas theorists on genre and textuality in the traditions of rhetoric have looked at textual utterances as narrowly linked to the formalisms of a genre type, I suggest that such direct and simple links need to be reconsidered, particularly in the teaching of FL texts. The tools to do so already exist. For example, in his essay "The Problem of Speech Genres," Bakhtin (1986) looks at the way texts represent normative and at the same time more complex forms of how individuals speak to one another. Todorov (1977) points out that literary texts in particular include representatives of different social classes, different positions vis-à-vis the messages of the text, and different degrees of formality in utterance.

Thus a diary entry or a letter has more than one particular set of characteristic formal features. To begin with, both genres may be private if their authors intend them only for their personal reading or for an intimate circle. By contrast, the diaries and letters of well-known writers, captains of industry, or politicians hardly carry that restriction. Degrees of formality, register choices, and topics reflect these kinds of decisions about the discourse situation which the text enacts. For the FL learner, in consequence, the text's *function* or *audience*, as marking the social situation, may well be the most important genre dimension to guide the outset of reading. That is, the form of a genre is not absolute, but rather has distinctive features with certain markers that vary systematically according to its place, ranging between how *public* or *private* its use is intended to be. In addition, the actual form assumed by the finished text is also modified with reference to another continuum, how *informal* or *formal* it is intended to be. Those dimensions are illustrated in the graphic on page 22, organized ***in relation to the demands of the communication situation that they enact***, not simply by formal features:[1]

Discourse Genres

INFORMAL ← → FORMAL

PRIVATE ↕ PUBLIC

			Language Situation
Written and personal	Letter Blog Montage, scrapbook	Business letter Diary (esp. publishable) Business diary	Specified sender-receiver Specified sender-generic receiver Generic sender-generic receiver
Spoken	Conversation Ad hoc speech, monologue	Debate Oratory, homily	Face to face, equivalent Monologue, one-sided
Print or published	Letter to the editor *Expository prose* General periodical self-published book (non-fiction) • non-fiction Fiction, other literary forms • literary genres, stressing originality within limited use contexts	Review Specialized periodical book from established press • handbook, encyclopedia • popular fiction, driven by formulae	*Known sender, implied reader and generic use context* Implied reader is general reading community of the medium involved Implied readership is member of a specialized reader community
Electronic "publication" or broadcast forms	Sound only (radio, webcast) Call-in show Sound bytes, short reports or announcements DJ or hosted format Downloads Print and graphics mix personal website list-serve, newsgroup Broadcast TV drama comedy variety serial/soap opera Film/video/DVD/on-demand media as above, plus special features, voice-over commentary, outtakes, director's cut, speed up, edit out commercials	Interview News show Variety or news digest (Fresh Air, All Things Considered) Audio CD /finished collections Public website E-zine, other electronic forms	*Forms with known sender, generic and media-specific audience demographics* Two speakers One speaker, generic audience One uniting voice or context, with materials marshaled into that single context *All the subsequent forms are specific and content-driven or use-context-driven modifications of the above*

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Note that the scale for private genres commences with written and personal texts rather than the spoken ones, reflecting how the sender-receiver relation is configured. The sender-receiver relationship for informally written letters is not the same as that for the business letter. Specified in the personal letter, the receiver is profiled as a distinct individual. In the business letter, that receiver is impersonally generic—another agency or a customer type, rather than a discrete individual with whom the sender has a personal, nuanced relationship. Some genres blur these distinctions but they do so in consistent ways.

The electronic "blog" (the web-based diary or "web-log" site where authors express personal feelings and events in their lives) and the diary written for publication, for example, also both have generic receivers—those interested in the senders' personal reflections, without any further personal specification. The blog, however, is typically less formal in style and register. The diary intended for possible publication or wider reading will have more formalized obligatory moves. It will frame topics ("today was one of the happiest of my life"), explain references ("because . . .") and define terms ("that opportunity/she/he has been ..."), while the blog can skip from one topic to the next without transition markers or structured entries, even to the point of including pictures or media clips. "Went skiing. What a bummer those prices are . . ." The receiver of a blog must often create links to ideas and the senders' situation or remain a reader at the purely factual level, while the reader of a published diary is initiated more systematically into understanding a text as the author reflects and elaborates on topics.

For the advanced learner, awareness of such distinctions can ease reading comprehension significantly. For the teacher, it helps pinpoint which texts will probably "work" for their learners and which may not, despite ostensibly simpler register, sentence style, and subject matter. It also explains why genres need to be examined carefully for their readability for the advanced learner. A blog entry may have simple subject-verb-object sentences on a known topic like "hobbies," but its intent may be utterly alien to its readership. Some blogs are relatively easy, others virtually opaque reading, since reader background must fill in the gaps in style and content characteristic of this genre.

Example: The Encyclopedia Article

The need for careful differentiation within macro-genres holds true for different types of letters or any of the genres discussed in the second column of the chart. When the setting is construed as formal, readers are more likely to follow its messages and their implications. The genre of an encyclopedia article, for example, implies a reader of a generic (standard, demographically mixed and thus otherwise unprofiled) community. The writer of a typical entry must abstract the age, gender, dialect, and regional location of its receivers (or implied readers) precisely because the function of this genre is to provide for a broad audience the information it requires about a subject. That objective necessarily prescribes the text's formal features. In other words, the sender operates under syntactic and information constraints that characterize the resultant text, because the encyclopedia article is engaged in an exchange that is seldom calculated to "rock the boat," to challenge the status quo by introducing new knowledge.

To illustrate, the obligatory moves of such a typical encyclopedia article involve locating a specific person, work, event, or concept historically and providing an account of their origin, representative functions, and products. The entry on an author will not, typically, contain multiple voices that might challenge master narratives. While its readers might expect to find brief citations reprinted to reflect assertions about the author's life or established reactions to his or her writing, the very definition of the medium and its communication situation renders this genre likely to conform with master narratives of the culture it serves, or at least with narratives that conform to established views about cultural achievements.

Consequently, as a genre the encyclopedia article will prove relatively predictable in register and structuring of messages. That assertion is particularly true for entries concerning subjects familiar to the reader. More important, the degree of interest or discussion arising from such an article is generally restricted because it has condensed a broad, potentially multi-faceted subject into a succinct summary.

By contrast, when the more user-neutral encyclopedia entry becomes an entry in an academic handbook for specialists in the field, it may generate greater user interest inasmuch as it is engaged in a more challenging exchange. Designed to serve a particular readership, and thus assuming a certain level of professional knowledge on the part of that readership, academic handbooks often include the pros and cons of a subject, its nuances, and controversial features and rely on the reader to take authoritative positions—albeit within the parameters of areas of disagreement within the field. Although also directed at generic receivers, handbook articles necessarily serve a specialized audience that has expectations that differ from those of the broader readership implied by comprehensive encyclopedia entries. They are engaged in different communication situations, with different degrees of publicness and thus different levels of formalisms (different obligatory moves in the information and the rhetorical organization that the readership expects).

Genres and Predictability

The success of courses designed for special purposes comes about when FL students have a horizon of expectations that parallels that of the target language audience for the texts in question, e.g., professional correspondence, technical documents, and verbal exchanges within the group. Working for these students is background knowledge that derives from their membership in that specialized reader community, such as engineers, members of the business community or the medical professions. Similarly predictable sequences occur in the bulk of essays, textbooks, and research reports written for students in specialty fields of science, social science, engineering, business, and the fine arts.

When a specialty field of interest is less public, however, the formal features of genres tend also to be less predictable. Readers of literature or TV viewers have a wide range of products from which to select and those readers' or viewers' tastes are, despite sometimes vigorous marketing efforts, not always homogeneous. Many genres, then—indeed, sometimes the richest from a standpoint of cultural information—have limited audiences. Hence the text exists in a context of limited use. This diversity among audiences often signals that the genre in question is less predictable than those written for specialty audiences.

Unpredictability is a particular characteristic of many forms of fiction and other literary genres that stress originality within limited use contexts. Original fiction, like the non-fiction that interrogates dominant expectations about a particular language community's behaviors and values, will often confound reader expectations about word choice and style as well as content and the obligatory moves with which it is presented. There is little chance that a reader of Kafka's ***Metamorphosis*** would ever have predicted that the hero was changed into a bug, unless the literary history is familiar.

Such works contrast with popular fiction driven by formulae (the horror story, the romance, the detective novel). Writers who produce books in series (*A is for Ashes* through *Z*) and publishing houses that specialize in formulaic series like Harlequin romances provide a specialized reader community with culture-specific versions of their individual genres. Such formulaic literature is so predictable that FL readers with relatively meager vocabulary can nonetheless begin reading it for main ideas, gradually acquiring vocabulary as they progress through the work.

To restate, while the same obligatory moves characterize classics of a particular genre (Dashiell Hammett's mysteries or Graham Greene's spy novels), the measures of predictability about plot development, register, tone, and style do not apply as fully. *The Maltese Falcon* (Hammett 1930) and *The Quiet American* (Greene 1956) are novels that made demands on reader attention by disrupting expectations of their day. They intentionally disconcert readers complacent about the power of wealth or the ethics of spying with humor or irony that reflects the author's intention to question such reader attitudes. In contrast, purely imitative or formulaic genres simply confirm their projected readers' horizon of expectation.

Small wonder that advanced learners of a foreign language can nonetheless find themselves challenged, even by genres that are relatively formulaic. Of course, audience expectations differ from one culture to the next even when genres are virtually equivalent. But only one or two relatively minor deviations can mean that the resultant predictability of the genre is easily reenacted only by native speakers of the L2 while posing significant problems for the advanced learner.

Often perceptions about an audience's cultural literacy, captured in terms of its horizons of expectation, influence the way a genre is translated from one modality or medium into another, such as a novel being turned into a movie or video version. Since the 1970s at least, novels of Magical Realism have been widely accepted in the United States, as indicated in the bestseller status of work by Carlos Fuentes, Garcia Marquez, and Isabel Allende. Despite the acceptance of this genre in written form, however, the star-studded film version of Isabel Allende's *The House of the Spirits* (1993) largely excised magical dimensions of the author's novel (1985). The producers left the event structure of the story with only a few token scenes in which young Clara moves objects by telepathy. The adult Clara (Meryl Streep) depicts a protagonist as "sensitive" rather than as the clairvoyant of the novel. Apparently, producers decided that U. S. and international audiences would be discomfited or alienated by the novel's magical dimensions and their ambiguous implications. *The Milagro Beanfield Wars* of a decade earlier failed at the box office while maintaining the grandfather's ghost as a real character in the film, a factor which may well have helped the decision to downplay magic in the later Allende film.

To empower advanced readers to read genre features systematically for their formal as well as their semantic or content messages, teachers need to create reading assignments that support subsequent writing and speech situations by emphasizing such formulae in culturally appropriate ways—the formulae that constitute literacy in genres and language situations in the target cultures. As advanced learners encounter increased demands on their language competencies they need structures that keep them from becoming mired in translation efforts, the frustrations of partial comprehension, or false analogies between cultural settings.

By using textual language to articulate the ideas of the text, learners reinforce their grasp of a work's language usage and larger cultural patterns at the same time that they reflect about its implications. At the very least, tasks that have learners use facets of texts they read as the basis for personal expression afford practice in sophisticated language use—use that is patterned according to larger sets of cultural expectations rather than having been imported from the students' own cultures. As a particularly felicitous way of teaching cultural information by having students encode the interlocking relation between formal and semantic features of texts in culturally appropriate ways, I propose the précis as an assignment task.

The Précis as Cultural Encoding of a Text

To illustrate how the précis can help advanced students identify and utilize genre to encode the formal and semantic features of texts in culturally appropriate ways, I now turn to specific works. Because teaching related content by using different genres builds vocabulary while offering distinctly different applications of that vocabulary, I have selected not only a Spanish novel, but also a movie based on the novel that was written by the author, a film review, and an author interview. The novel, ***Like Water for Chocolate***, by Laura Esquivel is subtitled ***A Novel in Monthly Installments with Recipes, Romances, and Home Remedies***, suggesting from the outset a domestic setting for a romance genre. Published first in Spanish in 1989 and in English in 1992, the book became a success in both English and Spanish-speaking countries, was a bestseller in the United States, and was made into a movie in the same year.

Esquivel's work intersperses actual recipes and directions for making them with events in the lives of two generations of women living on a ranch near the border between the United States and Mexico: the formidable Mama Elena, her three daughters, and their loyal female servants. Set at the turn of the century, their story takes place against the background of the Mexican Revolution. Commencing with the novel, I will exemplify how teachers can use the précis to have students work with both literary and linguistic features of a text and, at the same time, uncover for themselves a variety of cultural implications.

A précis has four distinct parts, each representing a different aspect of the reading process. The first part identifies the topic or content of what is read. Part two states how the reader sees that content organized as a pattern of textual information. Part three gives two or three examples from the text in a matrix format. To this point in the précis students almost exclusively use the language of the text. Thus the first three segments constitute a replication of text language as well as textual messages. Only the organization of those messages in this succinct form conveys the reading perspective of the student. Finally, using that language, students have the basis for articulating thoughts about those patterns in part four of the précis. It is here that they explore what the chosen examples say to them—the implications and significance of the information pattern they have identified.

The realization of the précis depends on what readers want to find out, their reader perspective or point of view. Consequently, précis vary between readers. That variance can be reduced when instructors specify particular parts as assignments. Such specifications, in turn, depend on the needs of learners and the goals of the course. Advanced students unfamiliar with reading longer authentic materials need assistance in constructing précis, because their reading comprehension can break down under the processing demands of details in the text. Unfamiliar vocabulary and grammar tend to detract readers' attention from main messages (top-down processing). However, with guidelines that focus their attention they can attend to major episodic stages in narrative development of ideas. In this, the précis proves an invaluable aid.

To reiterate, the précis is not just an assignment tool. Its format can serve the instructor as a pedagogical template for introducing a text and subsequently also for discussing it. In particular, a guided précis, one for which the instructor provides some categories, can help the advanced reader "stay on track" because it focuses attention on the main story line and the text's rhetorical structure. Once completed, the précis can be the basis for both written and oral work. To maximize the précis benefits in promoting multiple literacies, class time is necessary to identify and utilize its key constituents.

Pedagogical Aspects of the Précis: The Novel

I have advocated the use of the précis as a pedagogical template for all genres. In this section I propose that the précis is particularly well suited to identifying the richness of literary texts. I hope not only to support that claim for the précis by exploring its ability to capture a variety of approaches to the reading of literary texts; I hope also to offer convincing evidence for the particular suitability of literary texts in advanced classes, inasmuch as they invite just such a multiperspectival engagement in ways that non-literary texts do not.

Introducing the Novel's Generic Characteristics

If students are to read an unedited or lightly edited version of *Like Water for Chocolate* without heavy reliance on dictionary use, then a précis for pre-assignment work as an in-class activity is generally essential. For initial in-class reading, establishing the content and patterns of information in a text provides practice at the lexicogrammatical level and strategies for identifying the macro propositions of any text. It will help students identify the obligatory moves of a given genre. To insure a learner-centered approach from the outset, readers are not told what to expect. Instead, the teacher introduces the text with initial classroom reading and reactions to that reading by focusing on what readers identify as content and the pattern of that content. In the case of a novel whose chapters commence with months of the year and recipes, a brief perusal of chapter headings suffices to suggest the importance of foodstuffs generally and not just chocolate. Then students are prepared to read the first two paragraphs of chapter 1 (January/Christmas rolls) to see how food relates to the story the text wants to tell.

The first sentence is in the present tense as one would expect with impersonal recipe directions: "Take care to chop the onion fine" (5) but the cook herself intrudes with a private observation by line two ("to keep from crying when you chop it [which is so annoying], I suggest...") and by the end of the paragraph the recipe itself has been forsaken for discussion of a shared family trait. Both the unnamed author and her great-aunt Tita have cried excessively when cutting onions. The first sentence of the next paragraph focuses solely on Tita and the story of her birth, childhood, and early womanhood. Students see that the initial obligatory move of the novel, introduction of characters, occurs within the context of culinary events.

Using about ten minutes of class time to elicit such initial perceptions from students, the teacher enables readers to uncover the narrative strategy they will encounter throughout the text: the links between cooking and its impact on the lives of the characters. Equally important, they will have distinguished the voice of the present narrator (the "now" and present tense voice) from the story-telling voice, the one speaking in the past tense with the full authority of apparent total recall. That voice uses the Spanish imperfect and knows what Tita thinks and feels as well as what she does and says.

Developing a Matrix for the Genre's Content

The organization of textual information reflects these grammar signals consistently throughout the novel. In a course sequence for advanced learners, using a chapter of *Like Water for Chocolate* in a course in style or composition could begin with a matrix in which students contrast usage in these two voices. That matrix would contrast present and imperfect tenses and, at the same time, highlight the shifts in narrative focus: the context of particular events or moments in Tita's life in which the recipes are embedded.

The course whose goal for advanced readers is reading comprehension of longer texts will likely want to concentrate on facilitating those processes through extensive reading. For literary works, a grasp of narrative strategy is essential because readers are not yet fully in command of the language. Knowing the major techniques the narrator uses helps readers account for shifts in story line or context. In this way, readers can keep macro factors in mind (circumstances of Tita's birth) when trying to comprehend micro features (individual words and sentences) of the narrative. In the case of ***Like Water for Chocolate***, the teacher might assign the first chapter by focusing reader attention on the text-linguistic features that forge these links. The introductory reading and discussion in class has yielded a partially completed or guided précis to ease students' reading comprehension by providing them with a macro-propositional grid for the unfolding of the story.

This introductory in-class reading will also have identified the novel's content in terms of a message pattern: Tita's life as experienced through her cooking and intense relationship to food preparation. The message system that emerges can be confirmed by the teacher as a consistent pattern employed throughout the novel: the relation of food to life events. In chapter one, the storyteller moves in stages from birth, to early childhood, to young womanhood. In each case, the culinary situation is linked to critical experiences in Tita's life. Rather than discrete point questions ("What causes Tita to be born prematurely?") or multiple choice answers that ask only for specific facts, the matrix connects facts and narrative strategies, the expositional logic casting light on authorial intent.

At the same time, the matrix section of the précis asks students to choose or closely approximate the language of the text as a reflection of how textual logic is perceived by individual readers, a first stage in appreciating the author's discursive choices as conveyers of meaning. If the instructor devises a précis to ease reading comprehension by encouraging focus on macro-propositions, novice readers of longer texts in a foreign language probably need to have the textual logic established through in-class reading reinforced with a writing assignment.

The guided précis below illustrates how the précis can function as such a writing assignment. Items in italics are provided by the instructor; Roman typeface indicates potential student work. As is always true for précis answers, any student selection that matches the logic of the text is considered accurate. Along with that information, students have been told that all columns refer to specific pages and paragraphs and that they should use actual textual language where possible. These references help students attend closely to the language use of the text, they ease teacher assessment by identifying the place where potential misreadings occur, and they facilitate exchange of ideas in subsequent class discussion. In an advanced Spanish-language class, the format would be completely in the target language.[2]

Table 1

Chronology in Tita's life	**Culinary context**	**What results for Tita**
Babyhood	"onions ... being chopped" 5, 2 "Nacha offered to take charge" 6, 3	*"brought on early labor" 5, 2* *"Tita's domain became the kitchen" 7, 2*
Childhood	*Sisters "felt playing in the kitchen was foolish and dangerous" 8, 1*	"Nacha became her [Tita's] playmate then" 8, 2
Mid-teens	"When Tita was finishing wrapping the next day's Christmas rolls ... Mama Elena informed them that she had agreed to Pedro's marriage to Rosaura" 14, 5	*"Tita felt her body fill with a wintry chill" 14, 5*

As a pre-interpretive task leading to a specific kind of comprehension, this précis nonetheless orients the student to some key features that characterize Esquivel's use of characteristic logics drawn from Magical Realism within the context of a romantic novel. For a teacher interested in teaching students how to do traditional text-centered or close readings, in a way associated in the United States with New Criticism and other approaches to criticism, this précis has introduced that approach as a reading strategy. Their reading of chapter one has prepared students to see how the novel interweaves the relationship between food and the human condition in aesthetically well-crafted acts of language.

Developing a Matrix for the Genre as Art

Subsequent assignments stressing this text-centered reading of *Like Water for Chocolate* as a repository of aesthetic relationships would validate this view through systematic reading, revealing that work's status as art. The reader has been prepared for the exaggerated effects of eating Tita's food—from depictions of mass fits of grief to sexual orgies. Using the implausible circumstances of Tita's birth as a starting point, a teacher might construct a Spanish-language précis designed for close reading of Magical Realism. For chapters one and two that deal with the events leading up to the marriage of Pedro, the man Tita loves, to her sister Rosaura, such a précis could look like this:

Goal: ***Illustrate the semiotics of Magical Realism***

Logic: ***Compare the plausible with the implausible to consider the message system that results***

Table 2

Plausible event	**Implausible result**
1. [Tita] "already crying as she emerged" [at birth], "washed into this world on a great tide of tears" 6, 1	"Nacha swept the residue of tears…." "enough salt to fill a ten pound sack…." 6,1
2. "To make the cake for Pedro and Rosaura's wedding, Tita and Nacha…" 25,1	[Rosaura eats the cake and leaves] "swept away by a raging rotting river [of other people's vomit]" 40, 3

By focusing on the scenes in the text that use techniques of Magical Realism, realized in the text as a logical pattern of plausibility and implausibility, students can more readily uncover the implications of features that critics define as part of art. After juxtaposing the event as realistically depicted and the outcome as comically exaggerated, the reader can interpret that relationship in a variety of ways, as indeed critics have done.[3] One implication statement might be along the following lines:

> The matrix reveals a pattern of ordinary feelings and events becoming extraordinary and powerfully felt. For the reader, the relationship between psyche and soma acquires power as the intensity of the felt experience becomes a palpable reality. At the same time, the implausible extremes are funny because they reflect and allow release for suppressed feelings, psychological reactions many readers have themselves experienced under other but similar circumstances.

If a course for advanced learners is oriented more along the lines of cultural history than literary history, the teacher could require students to assess the novel as a document of the social power relations and structures that characterize its episteme: the belief systems implied by the institutions and practices of the place and period in which it was written. A précis designed to help students interpret a text in this way would require a reader to focus on different aspects of the text, less on character development and expression, and more on how the social standards that motivate the characters are set, manifested, violated, and punished.

Developing a Matrix for the Genre's Cultural Patterns

These issues are also very much the concerns of cultural theory since poststructuralism. Most often, poststructuralism points to the gaps between what individuals believe about their lives and the forces that actually control them. In *Like Water for Chocolate*, as in many romance novels, there is a pronounced gap between the implicit and explicit social rules of a culture. In Tita's world, for example, daughters must obey their mothers unquestioningly or be cast aside. Servants live under similar constraints. Whether explicitly stated or not, what is considered allowable and what is not represents the ways in which a dominant order imposes itself on individuals—the truth or ideology behind its maxims.

Students who read *Like Water for Chocolate* can find illustrations of the obedience maxim and its consequences in every chapter of the novel. When Tita questions her mother's demand that she, the youngest daughter, remain single to care for her mother in her old age, her mother doesn't speak to her for a week. The aged servant Nacha, herself a victim of the same injunction as a young woman, dies when her surrogate child Tita loses her suitor at Mama Elena's orders.

What the little rural society described in this novel considers true or proper and what it rejects are revealed most explicitly in what actually happens to those who break the rules and those who do not.[4] When the sister Gertrudis runs away and works in a brothel, she is not only ostracized by her mother, all traces of her existence are destroyed as well. She can return to the ranch (and to the narrative), only after her mother has died, but even then she is only a visitor. Her ties to the past have been effectively severed.

To see whether such moral, legal, and social codes are firmly established in the other characters' lives, readers might, then, look at how the text articulates the impact of rule-breaking on different groups (e.g., by class, gender, age, wealth) within a society. As a text-centered reading reveals, *Like Water for Chocolate* abounds with examples of social rules that are challenged or broken. A focus on text-internal, aesthetic structure would show how characters' value systems are built up for the reader gradually through their actions and the way they are described and articulated (as would be exemplified in précis for successive chapters). A poststructuralist reading of the text affords a different perspective by focusing on social codes and their practical consequences, as action-reaction or power patterns in the society. The poststructuralist reader, then, correlates winners and losers of social power games with espoused codes for behavior in order to establish how social rules operate under different constraints and which codes are particularly subject to revision.

A précis with a poststructuralist focus might ask readers of *Like Water for Chocolate* to look for 1) social expectations and 2) the subaltern's resistance to those expectations. The matrix would require readers to identify behaviors that other characters in the text object to or that result in profit or loss for those individuals or groups.[5] A possible schema for ***Like Water for Chocolate*** that points to the issues highlighted in poststructuralist theory might emerge along the following lines:

Table 3

Social power exercised	**Resistance undertaken**
Mama Elena:" 'you being the youngest daughter means you have to take care of me until the day I die' " 10, 9	Tita wanted to know "who started this family tradition?....what happens to women who can't have children?" 11, 6
"The wedding guests were not performing a social act, they wanted to observe her suffering ..."36, 3	"She was not meant for the loser's role. She would put on a triumphant expression." 37, 5
"With a look, Mama Elena sent Tita away to get rid of the [Pedro's] roses" 48, 4	"It was as if a strange alchemical process had dissolved her entire being in the rose petal sauce ...That was the way she entered Pedro's body ..." 52, 2

Viewed typologically (as categories of rules broken), the social strictures violated in these individual examples can be read in multiple ways. The empowered student reader can, at this point, give voice to reasonable inferences from examples selected from the text. For a post-structuralist reading, a student might infer that all of Tita's responses involve a suppressed and internalized resistance to a social injunction. This student might conclude that Tita, the victim or object of social constraints, passively resists public pressures for accommodation. She is not visibly or publicly in violation of any social expectations. Instead, she subverts these expectations privately, through transgressive thinking, thereby insulating herself from social retribution.

Using the Matrix as the Basis for Written Composition

If the advanced class were to continue through the novel using this style of matrix, students would have both the textual language and the propositional information to draw individual inferences about the larger implications of textual messages—implications about the larger cultural horizons represented in the text. Some might read their matrices for individual chapters as evidence that Tita's passivity ultimately betrays her.

They could, for example, extract the basis for this propositional logic and its exemplification from analog message systems in various chapters. Tita escapes her mother's overt tyranny, but not the covert tyranny of Pedro's physical attraction. Conditioned to subterfuge and reacting outside the pale of social acceptability, Tita is unable to recognize the exploitative parallels in the two tyrants in her life, across gender lines. She ultimately rejects her mother for indirectly killing her baby nephew but fails to hold the father, Pedro, accountable by that same standard. When Tita has a chance for marriage and a family with a man she cares for, Pedro seduces her and subverts her relationship with her prospective husband: she may have nominally escaped matriarchy, but patriarchy ultimately triumphs.

Using précis information in this way, the reader is in a position to argue that the aesthetics of the story deplore overt, publicly sanctioned sacrifices but valorize the sacrifices arising out of illicit passion, or that there is evidence of gender inequity in the culture. The private domain takes precedence over the public sphere. If love does not conquer all, it seems to rationalize all.

With rich literary texts, relatively informal and full of multiple layers of meaning, the précis often yields as many text interpretations as it has readers—the patterns evolved suggest many layers of cultural meaning that can be interpreted, from within the horizon of expectation of either the source or target cultures. Students soon become adept in developing their own theses and arguments for individual chapters, since comprehending a longer text becomes easier for them as they proceed. Familiarity with an author's take on genre, plot line, and lexicogrammatical usage enables students to take full charge of their reading and articulate their own horizon of expectation, their prediction about a textually verifiable focus and logic for textual information.

For Esquivel's novel, the sum of chapters documented in student-generated précis would be read and discussed in many ways, yet all would be anchored in textual evidence and textual language. Student readers have the basis for making statements about gender and the role of food preparation by comparing the lives of the passionate, food-producing Tita to the inhibited sister who cannot cook and the uninhibited one who dances in the kitchen. These production exercises may take different forms, but they share the key facet of being based in the text's own representation of its culture, rather than being drawn from the students' point of view alone.

Readers who have focused on language describing the grief, joy, and passion experienced in the wake of eating Tita's food might find them exaggerated and consequently write or talk about the novel as a parody of Magical Realism. A student choosing to argue for the seriousness of these same experiences could, on the basis of similar précis documentation, view them as metaphors for the power of sensual experience. Whatever their interpretation, as long as it is grounded in the language and message systems of the text, students are engaging in an exercise in cultural literacy: exploring and/or evaluating the social and aesthetic semiotics of a text written in another language for another ethnographic community.

Using the Matrix for Comparing Genres: The Novel Turned Film

When viewing the film version of a literary work, students engage in yet another type of cultural literacy, needing to negotiate both visual and aural message systems. Even a film that seems to exhibit great fidelity to the print text necessarily alters the reader/viewers' experience in a variety of ways, once a director's vision is added to the author's words (to say nothing of the intervention by screen-writing). Alterations occur even when, as in this case, the author of the novel writes the film script. First, a film is not only a different material mode of communication, it also has its own genre characteristics and hence introduces new obligatory and optional moves into any strategies of story-telling it may have borrowed from its source text. It must, for example, emphasize dialogue over monologue, showing over telling, which implies that films tend to condense and propel episodes through visual rather than verbal means. Similarly, the camera rather than the narrative voice controls point of view, and background effects from the film score or foley, such as music, conversations, or noise, can underscore or contrast with the visual scenario.

Second, films guide the reader/viewers' point of view covertly, through these various almost independently manipulative systems of meaning, but with greater specificity than can be the case with a novel or short story. By showing concrete images of people and places, the film version restricts viewers to *its* rather than *their* construction of the story's context—it is inherently more controlling of its viewers' expectations, as film theorists like Laura Mulvey (1989) underscore (especially in her work on how the gaze imposed by the film's point of view constructs the audience's position). Such images can reconfigure the audience's horizon of expectation through a range of options, from camera angles and color-coding to casting.

For example, because it was cast with well-known, largely Anglo-American stars such as Meryl Streep and Glenn Close, the film version of Isabel Allende's *The House of the Spirits* (1993) became less South American and more international in its cultural framing. Echoes of previous roles played by these well-known actresses necessarily influence audiences' and critics' perceptions about their roles in a film about military oppression and class struggle in an unnamed South American country.

If the adapted print text belongs to the canon of "high culture," the film drawn from it often alters the original in a third way. It generally strives to popularize that work in order to reach the widest possible audience. Popularization involves using film features designed to appeal to a large potential public, whereas a consciously aesthetic novel will try to highlight the particularity of its narrative voice. In this sense, most films reflect their producers' awareness of their target audiences' capacity to accept or reject specific cultural points of view at particular points in time. Read as conscious decisions to influence and appeal to viewers' perceptions, the mass-market film version's inevitable weighting and addition or omission of elements from the print text alters the message systems of the print version.

Equally predictable special effects broaden audience appeal yet maintain the cache of the European films when foreign films are remade for a domestic audience in the United States (e.g., *La Femme Nikita*, 1990; *Wings of Desire*, 1987), or when those same foreign films are made for international distribution by known directors of, for instance, European art films (e.g., Schlöndorff's *The Ogre*, 1996, with John Malkovich and Arnim Müller-Stahl, the latter a known quantity for German audiences, while the former is an international star). Consequently, when such "foreign" films have been made not only to be viewed by native speakers of their maker's language and culture but also to reach lucrative U. S. and international audiences, they provide advanced students with excellent case studies in cross-cultural literacy

Such was not the case in *Like Water for Chocolate*, 1992, since that film was made in Mexico with a cast of actors known largely to Mexican and Central American audiences. In this case, then, only the first two types of moves characterize the adaptation from print text into film: 1) obligatory changes conditioned by the genre (visual versus print), and 2) changes in point of view for potentially different audiences. Space prohibits a detailed analysis of these shifts, but their implications for framing pedagogical tasks that explore some cultural implications of these changes can be briefly addressed.

As noted in the foregoing discussion of the novel, Esquivel's text is divided into monthly installments, each introduced with a particular recipe germane to the subsequent episode. Given its time as well as media constraints, the film reduces references to recipes and the implications of food preparation and consumption, and generally overlooks the detailed time frame in favor of a more general "time passes." Consequently, not only the recipes but also the character who plays the narrative voice of the print text, Tita's niece, appear less frequently in the film, and so the typical viewer's focus of attention is more specifically on historical events rather than on the tension between those events and their meaning as mythic stories for future generations. Even more significantly, for those readers who saw the function of recipes in the story as parodying clichés or stereotypes about Latin romance novels, this element is reconfigured through visual emphases that viewers may not see as equivalent to the descriptions in the text. The realistic depiction of kitchens does not easily translate into an audience's sense of parody.

Perhaps most striking to viewers who have read the novel will be the film's depictions of relationships between key figures. Whereas the novel describes Tita's mother as despotically matriarchal, repeatedly punishing and even viciously beating her daughter for minor offences, this woman emerges in the film merely as stern and firm rather than as manically despotic in her treatment of her youngest daughter. Viewers are more likely to read Tita's depicted verbal resistance to her mother as petulance and her frequently depicted encounters with her sister's husband as engagement in reprehensible collusive behavior.

The novel, on the other hand, makes many more references to the ways and means of Mama Elena's virtual enslavement of Tita, and hence provides legitimacy to her daughter's subterfuges because the reader sees them as essential for the young girl's psychological and physical survival. Instead of petulant and underhanded, the novel's Tita can be read as both long suffering and courageously independent.

If asked to look for contrasts between images in the novel and those depicted in the film, students can identify such differences as evidence of the filmmaker's effort to make many aesthetically exaggerated features of the book more palatable to a larger viewing public. Typically, then, a student précis comparing images might note that, rather than the extremes depicted in the book (spewing virtual rivers of vomit after eating the wedding cake Tita has helped prepare), the film's camera looks down at a discrete distance on the backs of guests lined up along a fence over a riverbank while a soothing narrative voice announces that these people are vomiting into that river. Whereas the novel has Tita, the presumed culprit responsible for this event, receiving a "tremendous hiding from Mama Elena" for which she needed two weeks in bed to recover (41), in the film even the mother's barely articulated verbal remonstrance is cut short by Tita's announcement that their chief cook (Tita's surrogate mother) has died.

Such shifts in depicting relationships modify not only the genre moves but also their messages. Students who compare key differences between these versions, in terms of media presentation, genre conventions, and handling of stereotypes, have verifiable bases for drawing inferences about the cultural implications of such changes. They might, for example, conclude that the novel with its critique or parody of patriarchal myths prevalent in Central and South American countries has turned into a film about a mother/daughter relationship whose archetypical conflicts are embellished with trappings of Magical Realism.

If supported by careful attention to contrasts such as those identified above, students would be able to analyze cultural positions in a sophisticated fashion. While the novel depicted a landowner's tyrannical cruelties, thereby implying a need to reassess patriarchal norms (whether embodied by a man or a woman), the film tells a bland fairy tale about the "eternally human." By directing viewer attention to mothers and their pasts, the filmmakers have shifted the novel's focus away from its more Mexican-specific messages about daughters and their futures. Instead of being introduced to a particular kind of state and cultural tradition as in the print text, the international cinema audience views a much more universal message.

Pedagogical Aspects of the Précis: Other Genres

As I have exemplified, literary texts offer a particularly rich environment in which the capacities of the précis can be fully observed. But the pedagogies associated with the précis also apply in other, mostly non-fictional genres, though with less variety and more predictability, e.g., in general periodicals essays, biographies, autobiographies, movie reviews, interviews. As noted earlier in the chart on p. 22 and the subsequent discussion of genre, the degree to which non-fictional texts are public *and* formal generally renders them relatively "easier" reading (in intention and content, albeit not necessarily in grammatical form or specialized vocabulary) than those genres that, although public, are marked by originality and hence have fewer obligatory formal features. Moreover, in more recent texts their producers aspire to a broad, potentially global audience; consequently, their obligatory moves and register (formal features) are relatively predictable to audiences.

The Movie Review

Thus a movie review of *Like Water for Chocolate*, particularly one published on a web site, would be an "easy read" in comparison with the novel: the reader knows, in advance, that the review will automatically be configured as "for" or "against" (aspects of) the film. Reviews published in periodicals commonly begin with a judgmental statement that frames the subsequent synopsis of content and genre features in conjunction with assessment of the work discussed. Depending on the complexity of the review, the précis format for this genre can ask students to look for either descriptive features and reasons for accepting or rejecting them, or for the reasons for accepting or rejecting features and the judgments that result. In either case, the reader is to ascertain the reviewer's criteria for recommending or rejecting the book or film. From the standpoint of fostering students' cultural literacy, reviews offer excellent, fairly transparent windows into perceptions about different segments within a larger cultural community—their structures are very common across cultures, while the contents reflect specific cultures. U.S. reviews are, for example, much more likely than European ones to fault films for ethnic or gender insensitivity.

Reading several reviews with differing assessments will help students learn how to look for the basis for judgments in this relatively formal genre to identify the accepted values of the reviewer and her presumed audience. Such an exercise, then, provides practice in identifying how individual statements are made within formulaic genres in particular cultural contexts.

A website for the movie version of *Like Water for Chocolate* will predictably provide readers with an advertising variant of a review stemming from a disinterested source (see Appendix 1).[7] The obligatory moves for such web sites, the review-promotion for *Like Water for Chocolate* made by the company advertising it, commences with a single paragraph synopsis stressing the central role of the smells and flavors of the traditional Mexican kitchen ("los olores y sabores de la cocina tradicional mexicana") joined to the theme of eternal love ("un amor que perdurará más allá del tiempo"). The five paragraphs of comments that follow each pick up a different theme: the significance of the novel on which the film is based, the personal history of the director, the international appeal of the film, its audience appeal, and its artistic merits. Both segments are anonymous, signaling a generic rather than a personal sender of these messages. These are "everyone's" reviews, designed to interest the maximum number of viewers for the film product.

Since the intent of the review is evident from the outset, even novice readers can note each paragraph topic (what aspect is discussed) and the particular virtues praised. They could easily create a précis whose logic revealed the review's logic of praise and the rationale for such praise. Thus the topic of paragraph five, the aesthetic value of the film ("un éxito a nivel artístico") is supported with phrases like "an interesting story, well executed ... an intelligent approach to commercial success" ("historia interesante, bien realizada, ... comercializada de manera inteligente"). The sum of such a system of features and inferences from all five paragraphs enables students to see how movie makers in our neighboring country to the south try to position themselves as culturally unique, both independent of and competitive with Hollywood. This is a completely familiar formula from Hollywood marketing (one with overt and familiar obligatory moves), yet used in distinct ways by a culture outside the United States.

Interview

Other genres related to promotion are equally formulaic, but focus on different content areas such as plot, personal stories, quality, or social messages. An author or actor interview, for example, has aims similar to those of the production-sponsored appraisal of the movie, but such an interview can be somewhat more challenging to read due to its dialogic structure. The interview must be framed by the interviewer, usually with a colorful description of the subject, and then followed by questions and answers, in which the subject lives up to or counters that description. That format, the leeway afforded verbal exchanges, and the inflated claims celebrities often indulge in can become more comprehensible if the genre is read using the strategies of a précis format reflecting its obligatory moves.

An illustration can be taken from an interview in *La Jornada* in 1995 just after the appearance of Laura Esquivel's second novel, *La ley del amor* (*The Law of Love*) (see Appendix 2).[8] The author is briefly introduced as a person "conscious of the energy of the universe" ("Consciente de la energia del universo"), yet as a modern woman who loves movies because they are "the artistic manifestation of our century" ("La manifestación artística de nuestro siglo"). The subsequent exchanges are grouped by the subtitles "The story of a passion" ("La historia de una pasión"), "The invasion of time" ("La invasión del tiempo"), and concluding with "Just Laura, nothing more" ("Laura, nada más"). The interviewer has set up a grid: timeless elements of the woman as artist ("energy of the universe," a metaphor tapping into certain gendered ideas of what a female-creator must be), yet engaged in this century (making a space for a modern woman, who is nonetheless anchored in traditional values—perhaps a good space for a Mexican audience to learn to listen to a younger female author who is social-critical).

Based on the subtitles, the reader has been prepared to anticipate a demanding register (a broad range of serious topics) but relatively little content of substance. Comparisons with U.S. counterpart interviews in *People Magazine* or on *Entertainment Tonight* could potentially point to differences in self-fashioning as culturally marked realizations of audience expectation. A recent U.S. interviewer would scarcely consider it appropriate to hint that a woman should be inward-centered, a "force of nature," rather than choosing to be social-critical (or not). Even without such cultural comparisons, a précis structured to follow the internal logic of such interviews could lead to a matrix following the structure of the genre by noting two or three "typical stereotypes imposed by the interviewer/author responses that deflect (or support) such insinuations."

Students might observe, for example, that a single reference to this most recent work turns the interview into a promotion of Laura Esquivel the person rather than Laura Esquivel's new novel. That impression is recoverable from the pattern of questions and answers in the text, with most questions in the vein of "… Do you believe you are the same Laura Esquivel who gave us *Like Water for Chocolate*?" ("… crees ser la misma Laura Esquivel que hace años nos entregó *Como agua para chocolate*?") and answers such as "No ... [that book's] immense success changed my way of life and that automatically changed me as well" (No ... Su éxito inmenso cambió por completo mis circunstancias y automáticamente yo también cambié").

Such exchanges reveal less about the novel than about the interviewer's assumptions regarding female authors: what facets of her life are worth noticing or asking about, and what stereotypes of authorship she accepts for herself, an essentialist definition of "women-artists" that seems dated to many U.S. audiences. A matrix illustrating that tension could prepare students for a short writing assignment on the implications of the sample queries and responses students select.

Table 4

Interviewer: the intimate, personal Laura	**L.E.: the outgoing, community oriented Laura**
"Esta relativa demora podría leerse como cierto temor" (#3) (This relative delay [i.e. the gap between your first and second book] could be read as a certain fear/timidity)	"… sólo disfruto de la posibilidad de tener…una relación directa con el lector." (… I just enjoy having the possibility … of a direct relationship with the reader)
"También [cambió] tu relación con la literatura?" (#6) (Has it [success] also changed your relationship to literature?)f	"Lo que cambió fue mi ritmo de trabajo…" (What changed was the rhythm of my work) "Me gusta hablar por teléfono,…" (I enjoy talking on the telephone)
"En Nueva York … ganas algo: el anonimato" (#11) (In New York you gain something—anonymity)	"Las personas se acercan a mí solo porque soy otro ser humano y ya. Allá lejos me vuelvo Laura, nada más." (The people around me [in New York] know me for myself, for my qualities as a human being. There I can simply be Laura, nothing else.)

Students who have examined the interview from this perspective are poised to write about or discuss inter-cultural play in the content of this exchange. In the interview's emphasis on Esquivel's personality, the author's observations about herself follow a pattern of relative enthusiasm about the vicissitudes of living in the real world that contribute tacitly to the debate about the United States and the domestic norms and values Esquivel experiences in Mexico. Typically, then, winter and early dusks depress her in New York ("en invierno, la noche llega a las cuatro de la tarde. Eso me deprime"), but the anonymity she enjoys also opens up a different style of relationship to others, one freeing her from the artificial life of the celebrity ("me encanta [el anonimato] porque me permite establecer un contacto más espontáneo y natural con otras personas")—perversely, subsequent to her literary success, Esquivel can be "more real" in a U.S. urban environment, than she finds herself able to be when living in a Mexican community.

These contrasts provide the basis for an implication statement that assesses Esquivel's interaction with the interviewer. Such an assignment might direct students to assess the exchange using forms of negation (what Laura denies or how she differs with the interviewer) or explore student's interpretations of those responses with reference to their matrices. The latter task would ask students to speculate about the differences they have identified, necessitating use of the subjunctive. The resulting statement would use language generated by students, introduce subjunctive forms but at the same time, rely heavily on the language of the text. The example below (with subjunctive forms in italics) illustrates articulation of opinion anchored in the logic of the text in question.[9]

> Yo no creo que su demora *se pueda* leer como temor. Me parece que ella es una persona que quiere establecer un contacto espontáneo con otras personas. Es posible que su falta de tiempo *sea* causa de esta demora. Creo que le molesta que su entrevistadora la *trate* como mujer tímida cuyo mundo es el amor y la cocina. Por eso, es natural que *quiera* defender su vida social. Parece que tampoco le gusta que la entrevistadora *la trate* como persona especial por su éxito inmenso. Es indudable que el éxito ha cambiado su vida y su ritmo de trabajo. Pero a pesar de que su éxito lo *haya* alterado todo, ella quiere ser tratada como los otros.
>
> I don't think her delay should be read as timidity. It seems to me that she is someone who likes spontaneous contact with other people. It is possible that her lack of time is the reason for the delay. I think it bothers her that her interviewer treats her like a timid woman whose world is love and the kitchen. Therefore, it is only natural that she would defend her social life. It seems that she also doesn't like it that her interviewer treats her in a special way because of her immense success. Doubtless, success has changed her life and her rhythm of work. But even though her success has altered everything, she wants to be treated like others.

A student who uses matrix information to write a statement like the one above has grasped that Esquivel resists the interviewer's attempts to essentialize her through inquiries that focus more on the author's private "woman's world" of love, passion, and cooking. Another such statement might refer to the way Esquivel counters with examples of her wider intellectual and social spheres: her great admiration for Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice*, her love not only of cooking but also of dancing, and the way she has dealt publicly with the challenges of success.

Such student insights lay the groundwork for looking at features like the typical obligatory moves of the celebrity interview. This genre addresses in turn the central problems of Esquivel's specific cultural locus: mention of role models (Mann), her human side, her struggles with fame. Has Esquivel, her readers wonder, sold out to the United States? Is she *really* still Mexican, familiar with the domestic scenes and like "normal people" described in her books, or is she something else? The author carefully erases such dichotomies, pointing out that "natural" does not need to mean "born domestic," and that "authentic" does not mean a woman who writes can't look outside her own culture for inspiration. This is a very loaded exchange—but by implication only, since no overt rejection of interviewer questions or interrogation of the author's answers occurs.

Conclusion: Realizing Different Curricular Objectives With the Précis Template

The foregoing examples have illustrated how genre literacy and cultural literacy can be developed out of a student's language ability. They also reveal the degree to which the précis, a grid for identifying a particular perspective and logical system for information available in any genre, applies as a tool for flexible pedagogical and curricular design. As demonstrated in earlier examples, the grid section of a précis can vary with the choice of instructor and reader goals. What the advanced foreign language reader reads to find out should, ultimately, be determined by pedagogical and curricular goals. In this sense, the précis functions merely as a template for fully developing exercises that serve particular instructional goals, a foundation on which to ease reading comprehension, to argue textual implications, to have classroom discussions, to make writing assignments, and to foster critical thinking.

The Value of Theoretical Frameworks for the Advanced Learner

But the précis can also be thought of as offering more—an invitation to teachers and students to value multi-perspectival approaches in order to be able to interpret texts at ever greater depths of understanding. As I have illustrated, almost any area of cultural or literary theory can lead to systematic discovery learning. Theoretical frameworks help focus students' attention on a pattern of information that can be put to strategic use in interpreting a text, instead of generating opinions based on loosely related or isolated language facts. The logic and implication of the précis specify its interpretive goals and, consequently, the theoretical, cognitive, linguistic, and/or cultural ends desired by the instructor. When the cues for those logic and implication sections are provided, the précis ties this one specific act of cultural, cognitive, and linguistic learning into the larger goals set by the class, as reflected in the initial and concluding phases of textual analysis (the goal of the whole reading, analysis, and production unit within the class).

Note, however, that these overriding curricular goals do not restrict students' creativity. Instead, they allow them to develop, within the framework of the précis matrix, their own logical (syntactical) chains of argument and evidence to get to where the group wants to go—in this case, to get to the question of cultural stereotyping and/or Magical Realism used by Esquivel. The implications cued as the final stage should be set up adequately by the matrix's logic, in both its vertical and horizontal dimensions, as they present textual evidence (and thus cultural specifics and exact language, which is telling in other ways) for the more schematic logic proposed at the outset. The pattern of the interviewer's questions and Esquivel's responses, as exemplified earlier, enables readers to look at a text's macro-propositions and their possible interpretations in a denser logical and critical context. Since they use their own choices of examples, students can be evaluated on the basis of the consistency of *their* logics, rather than being graded by the teacher's norms. Consequently, an exercise that is carefully targeted within a class syllabus nonetheless allows much freedom of expression and preference—it becomes learner-centered without becoming an inventory of purely subjective views, a substantiated response rather than a free opinion.

When instructors control the focus and logic of a textual reading they have explicitly instrumentalized their students' readings towards the larger goals of a learning sequence. Such guided use of a précis format thus characterizes its implementation for novice readers. As a key template in a developmental sequence, beginners and intermediate students can gradually be encouraged to undertake unprompted précis as they become familiar with the template—to provide *all* sections in the full précis themselves. By the time they qualify as advanced readers in that sequence, students should be in the process of being weaned from topic and logic statements that originate with their professor. They no longer require an aide in guiding their strategies and facilitating comprehension of cultural as well as textual analysis. In other words, at some point the entire précis for advanced students should originate with the reader. Only when they can articulate the logic and goal of their reading are advanced learners being prepared for fully independent reading and analysis, with content, linguistic, and cultural learning-to-learn strategies at least partially in place.

The Relation of Genre and Précis

Familiarity with the concept of genre remains integral to the development of a précis praxis leading to independent reading. Awareness of who has written a text and for what audience remains the framework for any use of texts and textuality as the basis for language acquisition. For a prompted précis, for example, the point might be to learn about the purposes of interviews or reviews, or about how novelists transact stereotypes to tell new stories. As a responsible template for tasks aiding learners in comprehending a text and assessing its implications, each précis must be constructed against the joint considerations of reader goals and genre. As in the interview discussed above, the précis logic suggested by the genre itself involves viewing the interviewee in terms of the generic audience position toward his or her publication. Consequently, distinguishing between what is asked and how questions are answered points to the stereotypes implied by the text (the semiotics of terms such as "force of nature" versus Esquivel's language pointing to an independent authorial identity). This give and take is, moreover, the essence and art of the interview as commonly practiced today—its definition as a genre.

As noted earlier, the genres with less generic audiences (that is, those audiences designed to include the maximum number of users, regardless of those users' ages, cultural or class locations, finances, and sometimes even gender) enable a wider range of reader options. Yet, to question those assumptions about how culturally specific even these most generic of genres become, one can point to the gamut of theoretical approaches which could set other instructional goals for further stages in a particular class. If the learning goal for Esquivel's novel is aesthetic (that is, if the class is focused on the novel as a form of art), the impact of realistic elements juxtaposed with magical ones might become a key reader strategy (see Table 2, p. 29). To be sure, each novel has an implied reader (Iser 1974), but the class would be looking at the text's story-telling logic, its language, and the like. When the reader writes a précis on Esquivel's novel in this class context, the implication stage that completes the exercise might include references to the cultural significance implied by the patterns uncovered, but these would not be the focus of the précis as a whole.

Quite the reverse might hold for a course in cultural history or Women's Studies. There, as illustrated above, a précis constructed along the lines of a poststructuralist approach to texts might lead readers to juxtapose the social constraints in any given situation with leading characters' responses to those constraints or, in a similar vein, the breaking of rules and socially charged consequences or the ways in which such consequences are circumvented (see Table 3, p. 31). Or it may question whether the implied readership of the novel is male or female, rich or poor, depending on the clear preferences about who in the text is represented as "right" or "wrong" over the course of the novel (and by the novel as a whole, not by individuals in it).

In each instance, acknowledging such aspects of genre framing and the obligatory moves arising out of it can be deployed in précis strategies that lead students to identify aesthetic or cultural features. Such choices foster fulfillment of particular instructional objectives, which in turn can ease the reading task of the advanced learner. Applying the précis template to a genre of their choice enables teachers to develop exercises and exercise chains that designate the cultural literacy they want advanced students to achieve. At the same time, this template allows those students to remain in charge of and responsible for their own work, as independent thinkers informing one another within a cohesive community of readers, sensitive to their own cultural contexts as well as to those of the texts they read.

Notes

1. This chart was developed by Katie Arens. I am indebted to her for her substantive and editorial suggestions for this paper.
2. These and all subsequent English-language citations of *Like Water for Chocolate* are drawn from the 1992 edition.
3. Sometimes referred to as text-immanent or formalist approaches, Richards' *Principles of Literary Criticism* (1924), characterized by Marshall as "the influential founding book for Anglo-American formalism" (1993, p. 46), describes the tenets of a literary humanism. In *The Verbal Icon*, Wimsatt argues that the critic must explicate those values by demonstrating a work's coherence in its verbal structures in order to reveal its unique aesthetic qualities (1954). These two strands, then, humanist values and their aesthetic realizations, characterize interpretive work which today is often found in feminist, psychological, and New Historicist interpretations.
4. Thus Kristine Ibsen views the novel as a postboom parody (1995) while Susan Dobrian (1996) assesses the work as a parody of popular myths about romance. Antonio Marquet (1991) turns to related reception issues in an article that looks at the basis for the novel's success. Maria Valdés (1996) looks for paradigms of social reality in the novel. Many studies consider the novel from the perspectives of gender and related cultural implications. For example, Tina Escaja (2000) as well as Georgina Whittingham and Lourdes Silva (1998), read the work as exploring the identity of the Mexican woman. Touching on similar issues from a different vantage point, Maria Angelica Álvarez (1996) sees traditional norms interrogated by subversive discourses in the novel.
5. This is the approach attributed to Foucault, in texts like *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1978). But in actual practice, poststructuralism, deconstruction, and structuralism are sometimes presented in conjunction with one another (e.g., Berman 1988; Fekete 1984; Harland 1988; Marshall 1993). For purposes of this discussion, however, focus is on the historical dimension of poststructuralism which is absent in both deconstruction and structuralism. The work of Bourdieu describes how these power structures are administered through language use (1991).
6. See, for example, Eagleton, who presents a similarly conceived Marxist analysis by arguing that "the primary terms on which Charlotte Brontë's fiction handles relationships are those of dominance and submission" (1975, p. 29).
7. The review can be found at *http://cinemexicano.mty.itesm.mx/peliculas/chocolate.html*.
8. For reasons of accessibility, I used the copy of this review available on the web through a link from *http://home.t-online.de/home/Andreas.Huelsm/*. This site offers pedagogical suggestions in conjunction with photographs, samples of music and transcriptions of selected scenes from the film as well as links to information relating to the filming of the book and the novel's author.
9. This example is not an actual student essay. It was written for the author by Laura Sager, based on the matrix of information she had selected from the interview, as noted in the text. I thank Ms. Sager for her help in translating and interpreting the Spanish language segments in this paper.

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Appendix 1

http://cinemexicano.mty.itesm.mx/peliculas/chocolate.html

Como agua para chocolate (1992)
México Color (Eastmancolor)
Lugar dentro de las 100 mejores películas del cine mexicano: 56

Sinopsis:
Historia de amor y buena comida ubicada en el México fronterizo de principios de siglo XX. Tita y Pedro ven obstaculizado su amor cuando Mamá Elena decide que Tita, su hija menor, debe quedarse soltera para cuidar de ella en su vejez. Enmedio de los olores y sabores de la cocina tradicional mexicana, Tita sufrirá largos años por un amor que perdurará más allá del tiempo.

Comentario:
Como agua para chocolate ha significado un fenómeno muy interesante dentro de la cultura mexicana contemporánea. La primera novela de Laura Esquivel obtuvo muy buenas críticas y un gran éxito de ventas, algo muy difícil de lograr en un país en el que la gente lee muy poco. Calificada como ejemplo del realismo mágico, la novela logró traspasar los límites de la mera curiosidad y colocarse como el libro de ficción más vendido en México en los últimos veinte años.

Su paso al cine fue producto de la buena suerte. Alfonso Arau -actor y director mexicano muy popular a principios de los setenta- se interesó inmediatamente en producir un filme basado en la novela de Esquivel. Al fin y al cabo ella no podía poner muchas objeciones, pues el interesado en filmar la historia de amor entre Tita y Pedro era su esposo. En los últimos años Arau no era muy popular en México, pues su carrera la había continuado en Hollywood, casualmente el lugar en donde hacer cine es algo de lo más común.

De esta manera llegó Como agua para chocolate el filme. Realizado con un presupuesto mucho mayor que el común para el cine mexicano, con técnicas cinematográficas hollywoodenses y con un gran sentido comercial. El resultado es un filme fiel a la novela original, excelentemente producido y, sobre todo, inteligentemente comercializado. Los diez Arieles otorgados a esta producción y el éxito internacional de la misma comprueban que Arau sabía muy bien lo que estaba haciendo.

¿Cuál fue la clave del éxito de **Como agua para chocolate**? Indiscutiblemente el filme posee muchos valores estéticos, pero esto no valdría de nada si no tuviera nada qué contar. El cine es un arte que narra historias visualmente. Para que el público se interese por una película, ésta debe contar con personajes interesantes que vivan un conflicto que mantenga la atención del espectador. Una buena historia es la clave principal para un buen filme.

¿Se puede conjuntar un éxito económico con un éxito a nivel artístico? Definitivamente la respuesta es sí. Desgraciadamente el cine mexicano se ha debatido en dos polos artificialmente opuestos: el cine comercial—barato y vulgar—y el cine de arte—pretencioso y aburrido. Los cineastas mexicanos de calidad han insistido en contarnos historias que no nos interesan, ya sea porque no se comprenden, o porque no tienen elementos que apelen a nuestra más elemental atención. **Como agua para chocolate** encontró el hilo negro del cine de éxito: una historia interesante, bien realizada y, no hay que olvidarlo, comercializada de manera inteligente.

Appendix 2

Obtained through link from: http://home.t-online.de/home/Andreas.Huelsm/

La Jornada 13 de noviembre de 1995
Laura Esquivel, al rescate del mundo íntimo en el "siglo del desequilibrio"

Cristina Pacheco/ II y última "El siglo XX será visto como el siglo del desequilibrio. El excesivo propósito de conseguir el progreso nos desequilibró; pero creo que la gente se está dando cuenta de que por eso mismo ha llegado el momento de recuperar su mundo íntimo, su mundo sagrado", dice Laura Esquivel. Consciente de la energía del universo, atesora recuerdos, sólo teme a los resentimientos y acaricia un sueño: "Ir a Venecia de luna de miel. Hace mucho tiempo que he querido ir allá, quizá porque la novela de Thomas Mann me fascinó tanto y luego también me encantó su versión cinematográfica".

Respetuosa y amante de las palabras, Laura Esquivel es apasionada del cine, "la manifestación artística de nuestro siglo", como espectadora y también como escritora: "porque es un medio que te brinda infinidad de posibilidades. Resulta apasionante la magia de poder narrar con imágenes". Laura Esquivel recurrió a las imágenes en partes de su segunda novela: *La ley del amor*.

La historia de una pasión

Entre tu primera novela y La ley del amor *median seis años. Esta relativa demora podría leerse como cierto temor. Imposible que recuerdes cuántos ejemplares de* Como agua para chocolate *has autografiado, pero supongo que recordarás el momento en que lo hiciste por vez primera.*

Claro que sí: estaba nerviosísima. Al principio, cuando alguien me pedía que le autografiara mi novela me costaba mucho trabajo pensar en lo que iba a poner en la dedicatoria, me sentía comprometida a escribir algo muy especial. Ahora es distinto. He eliminado ese tono de nerviosismo y sólo disfruto de la posibilidad de tener, aunque sea momentáneamente, una relación directa con el lector.

La invasión del tiempo

Ese cambio de actitud, ¿implica también un cambio en tí o crees ser la misma Laura Esquivel que hace años nos entregó Como agua para chocolate?

No soy la misma, por supuesto. Cuando escribí *Como agua...* no pude siquiera imaginar lo que pasaría con la novela. Su éxito inmenso cambió por completo mis circunstancias y automáticamente yo también cambié.

Madonna dice algo muy inteligente al respecto: 'La gente siempre piensa la forma en que el éxito cambia a una persona, pero pocas veces toma en cuenta la manera en que las personas cambian frente a quien tiene el éxito'.

Siempre existe un juego de interacción del mundo hacia tí y de tí hacia el mundo. En mi caso, lo que sucedió es que de pronto me sentí completamente invadida, atosigada casi, por algo que no había planeado ni esperaba y que me desconcertó muchísimo. Quizá todo hubiera sido distinto si yo hubiese tenido un periodo de preparación; es decir, si me hubiera llegado el éxito en la cuarta o quinta novela y no en la primera. Pero no fue así y el éxito removió y lo alteró todo.

¿También tu relación con la literatura?
No. Tampoco variaron mis objetivos. Lo que cambió fue mi ritmo de trabajo. El éxito me dejó sin tiempo para mí o para trabajar con tranquilidad; me quitó la paz de que había disfrutado antes de que se publicara la novela. Entonces comencé una etapa muy difícil, donde tuve que seguir escribiendo enmedio de viajes, llamadas telefónicas, entrevistas, problemas personales. Me gusta hablar por teléfono, pero si respondiera a todas las llamadas que recibo al día ya no iba a quedarme tiempo para conversar con mi hija, para meterme a la cocina, para salir de mi casa o cocinar.

Laura, nada más

¿Sigues cocinando?

Aquí ya no puedo hacerlo, por todos los compromisos que tengo. En cambio en Nueva York sí lo hago. Allá me pierdo. Puedo ir tranquilamente a los centros de abasto y comprar lo que necesito para hacer los platillos mexicanos que me gustan y de los que depende el sazón.

¿Qué significa para tí el hecho de cocinar?

Es un acto amoroso en la medida que te brinda la posibilidad de producirle placer a otra persona.

También escribir es un acto amoroso.

Es cierto, y encuentro una relación muy estrecha entre uno y otro. Lo mismo pienso acerca del baile (entre paréntesis, te diré que me encanta bailar). La escritura tiene un ritmo, un movimiento, una especie de respiración a la que es necesario integrarse. Por eso procuro mantener cierta disciplina.

Háblame de ella.

Me levanto temprano, realizo una serie de prácticas de meditación que me permitan proteger mis silencios y escucharme. Después puedo ponerme a escribir.

Lo haces a la luz del día.

Sí, y no sabes hasta qué punto influye sobre mí, sobre mi trabajo, la luz del sol. Mirar el amanecer, la luz que avanza, me llena de ánimo y de energía, me entusiasma. Si me cuesta vivir en Nueva York es porque allá, en invierno, la noche llega a las cuatro de la tarde. Eso me deprime, entre otras cosas porque siento que perdí la mitad de un día.

En Nueva York, como en otras partes del mundo donde los inviernos son severos, pierdes parte del día, pero ganas algo: el anonimato. Eso ¿te desagrada o te libera?

Me encanta porque me permite establecer un contacto más espontáneo y natural con otras personas. Ninguna se me acerca porque escribí tal o cual cosa o porque piensa que soy importante debido a que mi obra fue traducida a tales o cuales idiomas. Las personas se acercan a mí sólo porque soy otro ser humano y ya. Allá lejos me vuelvo Laura, nada más. Luego, claro, hay que volver al medio y la vida que son míos. Eso también es muy hermoso, aunque tenga que compartir mis horas de trabajo o gastar mucho tiempo en responder llamadas telefónicas.

Fostering Advanced L2 Literacy: A Genre-based, Cognitive Approach

Heidi Byrnes and Katherine A. Sprang

Abstract

The paper argues for the need and opportunity to consider advanced second language abilities as part of the curricular and pedagogical vision of collegiate foreign language departments. It builds the context for such an expanded goal by focusing on the notion of literacy which, together with a genre-oriented and task-based approach that explicitly incorporates the cognitive abilities of literate adult learners, can support the required programmatic decision-making. It exemplifies such an approach within an integrated undergraduate FL curriculum, first, by showing how early advanced L2 learners can learn to make rich narrative choices in the area of place and time within story telling and, second, by demonstrating how even more advanced learners can acquire the ability to make choices in two major forms of meaning-making, congruent and synoptic forms of semiosis, by working with the micro-genre public political speech. *It concludes with a model for continua of developing multiple literacies in collegiate FL programs.*

Introduction

Advanced L2 learners and the abilities for language use one attributes to them have been accorded a rather curious status in collegiate foreign language departments. In general, degree-granting programs indicate advanced abilities as the desired educational goal and learning outcome of their curricula and pedagogies, though these goals remain distant or even unattainable for many, particularly those in the less commonly taught languages (LCTLs). Nonetheless, end-of-program outcomes statements have upheld a general expectation of advanced abilities, not least because of the proficiency levels required for teacher certification or in other professional work that involves L2 language use (e.g., Carroll 1967; *Program Standards* 2002).

At the same time, how the desired advanced abilities are to be acquired by collegiate learners and, more important, how they are to be fostered by all members of a departmental faculty tends to receive little explicit, much less shared attention. Even language program coordinators and supervisors, the group entrusted with ensuring continued effective L2 development within a program, are for the most part silent on these issues. But the absence in the AAUSC series, for example, of articles focused on advanced learners is matched by an even greater void in the professional literature on L2 language teaching and learning and, in the end, encounters a remarkable neglect of this topic in classroom-based second/foreign language acquisition (SLA) research.

However, rather than conclude that advanced L2 learning is simply beyond the vision, commitments, and areas of expertise of foreign language (FL) professionals, we take the opposite position in this paper. Indeed, we attribute a pivotal role to supervisors and coordinators as they consider what would characterize advanced L2 abilities, what understandings of language use and language learning would be conducive to fostering adult instructed L2 learning to such levels of ability, what kinds of curricula would best enact such understandings, and what principled pedagogies might be advocated even in an era of methodological pluralism. We take that stance despite the weight of past professional history and the well-known institutional obstacles associated with the bifurcation of FL departments. There is general agreement that their division into a language component, the responsibility of the oftentimes single supervisor, and a series of content-courses that are the responsibility and decision-making space of the other faculty members in the department (Byrnes 1998), has not facilitated action on behalf of the advanced learner. We are optimistic, nonetheless, because we see a convergence of developments within various strands of FL education that should enable the entire FL field to begin to develop curricular and pedagogical principles and educational environments that explicitly support college-level advanced L2 learning. The challenge to supervisors and coordinators would then be to adapt and expand such educational visions creatively within their particular FL departments (see Maxim, this volume).

Contexts for Developing A Vision of the Advanced Learner

Because issues pertaining to advanced L2 learning have thus far received merely marginal attention, we introduce in this section a number of favorable developments that anticipate a new thinking about and a new role for the advanced instructed learner in the FL profession.

An Expanded Intellectual Frame for College Programs—A Focus on Text and Literacy

Over a number of years, there have been increasing calls for an expanded intellectual frame of reference for collegiate FL departments, one that would encompass all the educational work that is typically accomplished within them, thereby overcoming the many negative consequences of programmatic bifurcation (e.g., Byrnes 1998, 2000, 2002a; Kern 1995, 2000, 2002, and this volume; Kramsch 1995, 2002; Swaffar 1999, 2000, and this volume). Such proposals tend to converge on the critical importance of text and textuality for the kinds of engagements in and through a foreign language that characterize academic L2 study. Less a refutation than a redirection of how the FL profession might realize the necessary emphasis on meaning-focused communication over form-focused instruction, they recommend expanded contexts for communication in the imagined worlds of both oral as well as written texts as these define a linguistic-cultural community over time. Further, authors highlight the centrality of discourse and dialogue in all human meaning-making, including reading and writing.

The encompassing view underlying these proposals is well supported by extensive work in L1 literacy studies, by such researchers as Cope and Kalantzis (1993, 2000), Gee (1990, 1997, 1998), Hasan (1996), Heath (1982, 1991), Kress (1993, 1994), and The New London Group (1996). The following quote from Kress (1994) not only provides a good summary of the kind of textual focus being pursued; it foreshadows as well the central role this paper will accord to genre:

> Five crucial aspects of textual structuring deserve attention. There is, first, the question of difference: what is the motivation of this text? Second, a text is always produced on a specific occasion of social interaction, and the characteristic social factors of that occasion of interaction give a particular form to the text: this is what I refer to as genre. Third, there is the question of how the issues which are talked or written about are organized linguistically: what institutional characteristics have shaped the ways in which this topic is talked or written about. This is what I refer to as discourse. Fourth, which of the deep cultural modes of textual organization are present or dominant: textual organization tending to openness and difference, or tending to closure? And lastly, what is the size and scope of the text; and what does this material aspect of the text reveal about the social characteristics of production of the text (p. 229)?

As the passage makes evident, an explicit social orientation is characteristic for this approach. Such a direction not only enables a link between culture, language, text, and the language learner, but privileges a notion of the learner and the act of learning as fundamentally functional and usage-based social practice rather than as a primarily analytical and rule-based individual activity.

Beyond that overall thrust of linking human activity and language, systemic-functional linguistics, well explicated by the Australian linguist Halliday and numerous others who subscribe to his approach to language analysis, seeks to account for how language is actually used. As Halliday states,

> every text—that is, everything that is said or written—unfolds in some context of use; furthermore, it is the uses of language that, over tens of thousands of generations, have shaped the system. Language has evolved to satisfy human needs; and the way it is organized is functional with respect to these needs—it is not arbitrary (1994, p. xiii).

Language is not a system of forms to which meanings are then attached, but "a system of meanings, accompanied by forms through which the meanings can be realized" (ibid., p. xiv).

At the most general level, to be able to serve human life, language expresses two kinds of functions: an ideational or reflective, which allows us to understand our environment, and an interpersonal or active, which allows us to act on others, where both of these metafunctions are held together and operationalized by a third metafunctional component, the textual. In this fashion, language creates a semiotic world of its own, a universe that exists only at the level of meaning but serves both as means and as model, or metaphor, for the world of action and experience. Systemic-functional linguistics describes this linkage in terms of three dimensions: first, the dimension of "field"—the social activity that is taking place which often determines what we commonly refer to as its content; second, the dimension of "tenor"—the relationship between the participants, including their roles and statuses; and, third, the dimension of "mode"—the part that language plays in the situation, including the channel. We will return to a closer specification of these concepts in a genre context.

An Enlarged Framework for Imagining the Adult Instructed Learner

The preponderance of existing notions and metaphors about teaching and learning reflects the considerable energy that language teaching has devoted to the beginning and intermediate levels of acquisition (on the importance of professional metaphors, see Herron 1982 and, more recently, Ellis 2001). As a result, the communicative capacities that more advanced learners should acquire and the overall instructional goal of advanced competence are experienced either in terms of insurmountable limitations or in terms of giftedness, privilege, or exceptionalism. A particularly stark example for that tendency is the typical conclusion drawn from the Critical Period Hypothesis: adults are much worse at learning a second language than are children and will rarely succeed at attaining truly competent use of the language. By contrast, the more limited Fundamental Difference Hypothesis that states that "adults can no longer rely on the innate mechanisms for implicit language acquisition and must, therefore, rely on alternative, problem-solving mechanisms" (DeKeyser 2000, p. 500) can be interpreted as saying something quite positive: a high level of competence can be achieved in a nonnative language after childhood if explicit learning processes take place, a way of working with the effects of neurological maturation or developmental differences in memory in adults. Such a stance privileges neither an essentialist interpretation of the observed high level verbal ability that advanced learners do have nor a deficitary biological interpretation of the human language learning capacity. On the contrary, it opens up a unique challenge and opportunity for metalinguistically and metacognitively oriented instruction toward advanced learning. As it stands, few encompassing proposals and even fewer programmatic models exist that deliberately build on these adult learner capacities in order to realize advanced L2 competence as a programmatic goal, and little is said about how FL classrooms might become environments that consistently work to enable learners to experience that desired learning success. For example, Schulz (2002) states:

> It is generally accepted, and documented by research, that few learners will be able to jump the hurdle from an Intermediate to an Advanced rating on the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Scale without an experience abroad. .... While a stay abroad is no guarantee of reaching high levels of proficiency, reaching such levels of language competence is impossible without such a stay. This finding is of particular importance to the development of teachers (p. 289).

On that account, study abroad is at the same time blessing and critique for the furtherance of advanced abilities: blessing because it seems to save the profession from having to accept generally meager learning outcomes, critique because it exposes serious curricular and pedagogical shortcomings, both prior and subsequent to the foreign sojourn (Freed 1995).

With a social-constructivist and functional orientation of language use and language acquisition, however, literate adult instructed L2 learners can be imagined outside the commonly held and nearly naturalized assumptions about them. In other words, while the validity of expectations regarding learning outcomes is, of course, an empirical question, it is also worth asking whether we confront here a case of self-fulfilling prophecies: advanced L2 abilities are not acquired in instructed settings because little explicit curricular and pedagogical attention is focused on their acquisition. Such a position in no way denies the formidable challenges in reaching that goal, particularly in non-cognate languages (see Kagan and Dillon, this volume). But it does assert that a rich understanding of what constitutes advanced levels of ability to use a language, flanked by principled ways of imagining curricula and pedagogies in support of such abilities, is as indispensable as it is remarkably absent in the foreign language professional discussion.

The following general considerations are part of meeting the challenge of devising a possible remedy to that serious shortcoming:

a. Adult L2 learners are not permanently inhibited, even failed native speakers of the L2 but are unique language users in their own right. As multicompetent speakers they have other uses for the language than the monolingual, other knowledge of the L2 than that held by native speakers without necessarily being defective and deficient, and they will develop a knowledge of the L1 that will differ from that of monolingual speakers (Cook 1999, 2002, 2003).

b. Though the construct of interlanguage accords some autonomy of decision-making to the learner, it also retains an idealized norm of the native speaker, through such terms as fossilization, error analysis, and deviant grammaticality judgments (Cook 1999). Stepping outside that construct, however, the task of L2 learning can become that of acquiring the discourse practices of the L2 in relation both to the L2 speech community and in relation to those that literate adult learners already possess in their L1 (Byrnes, Crane, and Sprang 2002). On the one hand this highlights the fact that language is a social semiotic and that the situated practices of the L2 linguistic and cultural community are of utmost significance to the learner. On the other hand, such a characterization recognizes that the learners' cognitive capacities, their literate abilities, and their functional use abilities in both the L1 and the L2 mutually affect each other not merely in terms of (negative) transfer, usually at the lexicogrammatical level, but also in terms of facilitative sophisticated discourse and knowledge structures, at both the textual and the lexicogrammatical level (Mohan 1979, 1989, 1998; Moffett 1992). Because the U.S. educational environment places considerable burdens on collegiate FL programs as the primary places where language learning beyond the intermediate level takes place, such macro- and microcognitive and metalinguistic advantages deserve most careful attention.

c. In foregrounding the cognitively engaged, literate adult learner one can assign a pivotal meaning-constructing, rather than a mostly form-processing role to learners. This applies particularly to advanced learners who do not merely "acquire" the ambient language ("the input") on their own, "naturally," nor primarily in terms of the interactive negotiation of meaning as might be claimed for less proficient learners, though even there with important limitations (e.g., Duff 1986; Pica 1994). Instead, stress lies on learners as creating new meanings in diverse textual wholes, thereby foregrounding that advanced learning is to a significant extent about making choices that

> occur within conventions of use that have high probabilistic value but which, nevertheless, show flexibility and variation. Only within this framed flexibility can individual voice and identity occur and be gained—not by being creative in a sociolinguistically non-recognizable fashion (Byrnes 2002b, p. 50–51).

In this way, another set of highly valued pedagogical metaphors can be imbued with expanded interpretations—creativity, meaningful expressiveness, thoughtfulness, and, most important, learner-centeredness. Instead of being understood largely within either an individualistic, psycholinguistically driven model or in terms of the exuberant "naturalness" of child L1 learning, learner-centeredness for adult FL learning would reside within a social-semiotic and social use-bounded understanding of language competence and learning, and would be so understood not as an afterthought but in its essence.

An Inclusive Learner Group—Crossing the Boundaries of the Native and the Foreign

We consider the multilingual and multicultural national and global context to be another noteworthy impetus for including the advanced learner in the vision of the FL profession. Major political and demographic shifts in the linguistic-cultural identity of nation-states turn into a liability what was previously an asset,—the normative privileging of the monolingual speaker over the multicompetent user. As Godenzzi (2003) states,

> Language diversity is a way of life, not a problem to be solved. People do not have to choose one language instead of living with two or more ... monolinguals in much of the contemporary world are aware of the handicap of defending a single position when the ability to use two languages multiplies everyone's moves (295).

In any case, frequently it is neither possible nor societally necessary to define the native or the foreign speaker, the foreign or the second language learner, the heritage learner or the immigrant speaker (Katz 2003). What is valid, however, is a concern with how an entire educational system, but especially its tertiary level, can and should incorporate and foster diverse advanced abilities in L2 users, such that they may gain the capacity to lead meaningful lives through language at the personal level and also to access and influence a variety of public fora and goods. As we hope to show, that concern is at the heart of a genre-based pedagogy toward advanced abilities in an L2.

A Comprehensive Instructional Frame—The Articulated, Integrated Curriculum

Finally, the field is beginning to recognize that perhaps the greatest boost to the possibility of instructed college-level learners' attainment of upper levels of ability would be an articulated curriculum. At the college level it would ideally also be an integrated curriculum that continuously and explicitly links content and language acquisition throughout the undergraduate sequence (e.g., Allen 2000; Bernhardt and Berman 1999; Byrnes 2000, 2001, 2003; Kern, this volume). In the K-12 environment, curriculum construction and the possibility of articulation have received much attention within the *Standards for Foreign Languages* project (1996; also Phillips 1999). With its affirmation of a K-16 span for L2 learning and its five macro-goals of communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities, the *Standards* project has at last created an environment for envisioning long-term instructional sequences and, by extension, the attainment of upper levels of ability that are expressed in functional terms. Pedagogically it completes the movement, begun in the 70's, from an approach that took a focus on formal features to be most conducive for learners to acquire an L2 to the current view that has largely abandoned that notion and believes that a focus on content or meaning or functions best enables them to attain that goal.

However, from the standpoint of actual curriculum development it appears that key considerations remain to be fleshed out. If an apt description for curriculum is to say that it is "an attempt to communicate the essential principles and features of an educational proposal in such a form that it is open to critical scrutiny and capable of effective translation into practice" (Stenhouse 1975, p.4), then we lack a translation of the *Standards'* focus on meaning into a principled approach to curricular selection and sequencing and, from there, into pedagogical praxes that would be open for the required "critical scrutiny."

What holds true in the K-12 environment applies even more dramatically in the collegiate context: colleges, too, have endeavored to focus on literary-cultural content and have largely abandoned language form as an organizing principle. But, unlike primary and secondary education specialists, they have invested remarkably little thought into just how one might enact a focus on content while also assuring formal accuracy without either simply falling back into the additive and, at heart, form-focused practices of the proficiency era (for a critique, see Byrnes 2002b) or else abandoning all hope for linking the acquisition of cultural literacy to the acquisition of the formal features of the L2 (Byrnes 2002a). Indeed, both erroneous conclusions sustain the bifurcated L2 departments we know, thereby sustaining as well the kind of separation of knowledge and language that, in its instrumentalist manifestations, keeps us and our learners from understanding that "'knowledge' itself is constructed in various patterns of discourse" (Christie 1989, p.153).

On the basis of the previous discussion, we now propose a working description for the advanced L2 learner and advanced L2 learning as a way of providing a basis for subsequent expansion and specification of both the learner and the construct of advancedness in line with our focus on literacy and a genre-oriented socio-cognitive approach (see also Byrnes 2002b and Appendix 5):

> Adult advanced instructed learners employ the L2 in a way that reflects their recognition that language use occurs in social contexts. Therefore, they frame topics, position speakers/writers and hearers/readers, and arrange the meanings they seek to convey in a way that is oriented toward the social other (group or individual). In this understanding of socially constituted language usage, advanced L2 learners begin to approximate the discourse organizational and information structuring practices of literate users of the L2 while drawing on their own literacy practices in the L1. Language development throughout the advanced stages of language learning leads to an expanding capacity to situate the learners' performance between expected language use in the L2 culture(s) and their desire for an individual voice in the L2 culture. They are able to use the L2 in all modalities (though at different levels of confidence), addressing the topical areas that someone of their age and life-world experience is likely to deal with or be interested in. Their language performance enhances their capacity to narrate or establish relationships among both concrete and abstract phenomena, in private or public settings, including institutional settings. This involves ever more nuanced meaning-driven choices at all levels of the language system—at the discourse level, at the sentence level, and at the lexicogrammatical level. Accuracy, fluency, and complexity of language use can vary considerably across thematic and discourse domains, reflecting, among other things, topic familiarity and the conditions of language use (planned/unplanned, oral/written, controlling processing time/uncontrolled processing time). That variation notwithstanding, advanced L2 learners consistently show awareness and use of the major grammatical resources of the L2 and of its oftentimes prefabricated lexicogrammatical repertoire. They present a kind of cognitive and performance fluency that results in their being accepted in settings that involve both private and public language use in the L2 community.

Detailing Assumptions for a Genre-based Cognitive Approach

With that previous contextualization of advanced instructed learners (in terms of a literacy focus, in terms of membership within an inclusive learner group, in terms of recognizing their multicompetent literate status within an integrated college curriculum) and a first description of their language performance profile we are now ready to specify why and how a genre-based cognitive approach can inform curricular and instructional approaches toward advanced L2 abilities. In particular, we present two genres, the macro-genre of the narrative and the micro-genre of the political speech, as exemplars of a number of critically important shifts in L2 acquisition from high intermediate into advanced and beyond. We do so in the following steps:

- identify the motivation behind those foci and specify them both from a curricular and a pedagogical perspective;
- give a close-up example for fostering early advanced learning through narrative choices with a particular emphasis on time and place;
- discuss how the genre *political speech* offers curricular and pedagogical opportunities for a central characteristic of the advanced instructed learner, the ability to choose between two major semiotic perspectives, a congruent and/or synoptic form of semiosis;
- present in summary form a number of progressions that describe the evolving advanced L2 learner. This learner can give meaning to her or his life-world in terms of a wide variety of content and a range of constructed relationships and positionalities vis-à-vis other social groups and individuals by means of oral and written texts as instantiated in genres. Echoing Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000), we call these progressions and the resultant capacity on the part of advanced learner "continua of multiple literacies."

For us the above considerations have arisen over a six-year period, during which our home department, the German Department at Georgetown University, engaged first in a three-year curriculum renewal project, *Developing Multiple Literacies* (1997–2000), and subsequently explored implications of that shift from a variety of perspectives. In particular, a view of genre beyond its customary use in literary analysis inasmuch as it emphasizes the fusion of substance and form in a social context proved most helpful. For example, in an early and still influential discussion, Miller (1984) states that:

1. Genre refers to a conventional category of discourse based in large-scale typification of rhetorical action; as action, it acquires meaning from situation and from the social context in which that situation arose.
2. As meaningful action, genre is interpretable by means of rules; genre rules occur at a relatively high level on a hierarchy of rules of symbolic interaction.
3. Genre is distinct from form: form is the more general term used at all levels of the hierarchy . . .
4. Genre serves as the substance of forms at higher levels; as recurrent patterns of language use, genres help constitute the substance of our cultural life.
5. A genre is a rhetorical means for mediating private intentions and social exigence; it motivates by connecting the private with the public, the singular with the recurrent (p.163).

With those characteristics, genre became for us a curricular and a pedagogical construct that could support an integrated approach to collegiate L2 instruction toward academic levels of performance in the L2 (see Crane, Liamkina, and Ryshina-Pankova, and also Weigert, this volume). It challenged the department's entire teaching staff, faculty and graduate students, not only to focus on content over grammar, the first step in a communicative or proficiency orientation, but also to find ways in which that content could be sequenced for effective and efficient language learning throughout the four years of undergraduate education. This means that the selection and sequencing of texts, as the carriers of content and also the vehicles for instruction, must respond to a variety of characteristics of adult L2 acquisition by literate learners. Specifically, their intended curricular and instructional uses must recognize the demands of long-term L2 development, from the very beginning of the study of German to academic levels of use in a range of genres, in all modalities, and in terms of accuracy, fluency, and complexity now situated within the constraints and opportunities of textual wholes.

For that line of thinking the already mentioned new literacy studies within U.S. L1 education, combined with systemic functional linguistics, particularly as practiced in the Australian context, provided valuable guidance in two directions:

- first, with regard to sequencing broad categories of genres. Gee provides an instructive general distinction when he speaks of the primary discourses of familiarity that all of us acquire largely unconsciously in the process of socialization into our culture and social contexts, and "secondary discourses [that] involve social institutions beyond the family . . . no matter how much they also involve the family" (1998, p. 56). Important for our instructional context and our learners, the ability to control such discourses is developed, often quite explicitly, "in association with and by having access to and practice with" what he calls the secondary institutions of schools, workplaces, stores, government offices, businesses and churches (idem).
- second, with regard to genre-based pedagogies as they have arisen in systemic-functional linguistics. These offer a way of linking socially situated texts and content with a learning theory (see Christie 1999; the contributions in Christie and Martin 1997; Martin 1999; Richards and Novicki 1998a and b).

Christie describes the underlying assumptions of such a pedagogy in the following fashion:

> 1. [Genres] offer a principled way to identify and focus upon different types of English texts, providing a framework in which to learn features of grammar and discourse.
> 2. They offer students a sense of the generic models that are regularly revisited in an English-speaking culture, illuminating ways in which they are adapted or accommodated in long bodies of text in which several distinct genres may be found.
> 3. They offer the capacity for initiating students into ways of making meaning that are valued in English-speaking communities.
> 4. Because they permit all these things, they also form a potential basis for reflecting on and critiquing the ways in which knowledge and information are organised and constructed in the English language (Christie 1999, p. 762).

To date this approach has primarily been used in a second as contrasted with a foreign language environment where it has met with particular success in the Australian Adult Migrant English programs (e.g., Feez 2002) or in advanced ESL classes in the United States and around the world (Connor 1996; Connor and Mayberry 1996; Hyland 2000, 2002; Hyon 1996; Johns 1995, 1997, 2002; Schleppegrell and Colombi 2002; Swales 1990).

At the same time, its key features appear eminently suited to addressing the challenges and opportunities of collegiate L2 instruction. Accordingly, we gradually came to use a genre-basis as we didacticized thematically arranged texts for the curriculum. Initially this meant using individually held, undifferentiated notions of communicatively oriented instructional tasks that vacillated between using grammar to "seed" communication and nearly disregarding it as students engaged in "real-world" communication. In time, however, the group developed publicly shared and frequently negotiated understandings of the notion of task that explicitly considered the specific content- and text-based forms of situated language use as they are instantiated in genre (Byrnes 2002c).

That resulted in pedagogical tasks that have two perspectives: in the first perspective tasks look to the text and its genre characteristics in light of the kinds of prototypical forms of language use it instantiates; in the second perspective tasks negotiate these prototypical language forms at all levels of the system, from textual organization to lexicogrammatical features, and in terms of the particular language acquisitional needs and capacities of learners at a particular stage of the curriculum and within a particular course. Because the individual genre-linked tasks are inherently embedded in a large genre-based curriculum, they can be expanded into thematically linked, internally-sequenced task clusters. In turn, these clusters of pedagogical and "real-world" tasks are used strategically within content themes, at diverse instructional levels and, ultimately, across the curricular progression.

To summarize, for curricular decision-making we have found advantageous a focus on content, text, and genre linked to language developmental interests; for pedagogical decision-making we have found felicitous a focus on tasks that specify what is to be done with texts through their generic characteristics. In this fashion, genre-based tasks can reasonably assure both content and long-term L2 acquisition across the entire curriculum, thereby leading to advanced levels of ability in the L2.

The following two sections exemplify our experience at two consecutive instructional levels: the first section shows how a genre-based cognitive approach can help early advanced L2 learners make rich narrative choices in the area of time and place within story telling; the second applies a genre-based cognitive approach so that a subsequent learner group at the next curricular level can acquire one of the defining capacities of the advanced learner, the ability to make choices with regard to two major forms of semiosis, a congruent process-oriented semiosis, and a product- or object-focused semiosis.

Toward Early Advanced Learning through Narrative Choices

Learners encountered the functional demands for retelling stories in a highly targeted fashion in a Level III course, *German Stories, German Histories*, within the integrated curriculum of the German Department at Georgetown University (GUGD). This course is offered either as the third semester of an intensive sequence or the third year of a non-intensive sequence, in each case occurring after 12 semester credit hours of instruction. Thematically focused on the latter half of the 20th century, it presents the following topical sequence for German history from 1945 to the present (see Eigler 2001 for a more detailed discussion of the entire course, and the departmental web page for its curricular embeddedness):

Beginning with immediate post-war Germany, a time in which the country lay in ruins and individuals pieced together their personal lives as they reestablished a society, it then moves through the division of Germany into two states, one a socialist state that had to build a wall around itself in order to survive, the other a social democracy that thrived in the world climate of the latter part of the twentieth century. In the third theme, it examines the sociopolitical dynamics that led to the reunification of Germany in 1991 and considers the positive and negative consequences of those political decisions for the lives of individual citizens from both states; and in the fourth theme, it considers the construct of identity, both personal and national.

The authentic texts of the course create and maintain a dialectic between the personal and the public, through inclusion of personal narratives, interviews and feature films, short literary works, newspaper stories, documentary videos, public speeches, and magazine articles that recount the story/history of that time from a publicly sanctioned perspective. Working through thematically oriented content allows students to develop a rich knowledge base of the issues associated with each of the themes examined. Such augmented knowledge enriches—and complicates—the recurrent task of retelling stories by creating narrative events for which discourse analyst Schiffrin (2003) has identified a shifting "public consciousness" as a factor in how stories are told. Focused on Holocaust narratives, she observes that the commemorative and performative functions associated with the evolving public role of Holocaust oral history add to the autobiographical functions of the individual life story told in those narratives. In turn, that prevailing public consciousness affects the structure of the clause, reflecting its status not only as a way of moving a plot forward in time but as a resource for evaluating the experience being reconstructed in light of that public consciousness (for the centrality of evaluation, see also Hunston and Thompson 2000). As we will show below, a dynamic intertextual and social notion of narrativity also informs the treatment of the texts that the learners read, inasmuch as careful pedagogical staging reenacts in the classroom's culture the evolving German 'public consciousness' as it changes with the passing of time.

To provide an overall frame for this discussion we refer to the definition of the generic components of narrative given by Labov (1972), who analyzed the schematic structure of the narrative of personal experience as prototypically containing the following obligatory and optional components, or genre moves, that are construed as occurring through time:

(Abstract) ∧ Orientation ∧ Complicating Action ∧ Resolution ∧ ⌟*Evaluation ∧ (Coda)

Here, narratives are seen as answering the following questions:

(Abstract):	What is this about?
Orientation:	Who, when, what, where?
Complicating Action:	*Then* what happened? (Chafe refers to this as climax.)
Evaluation:	So what?
Resolution:	What finally happened?
(Coda):	Bridges story and conversation times

More directly applicable to our focus, Chafe (1994) argues that the thinking speaker (which he refers to as "consciousness") cannot function without being oriented in space, time, society, and ongoing background events.

> The orientation of a narrative fills the crucial need of consciousness to be oriented with respect to several types of information. Language provides clear evidence that consciousness depends for its well-being on information regarding several aspects of the environment in which a person is located. Without such an orientation, consciousness simply cannot function coherently. A[n] ... unoriented consciousness is unable to go about its normal duties of providing the mind with a coherent sequence of ideas. A topic, in the sense of the totality of

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> information that is semiactive at one time, is never viable without an orientation. There appears to be an especially important need for orientation to space and time.... (p. 128)

What consequences might the central role of time have for linguistic expression and, therefore, our pedagogies for the early advanced learner? In *Time in Language*, Klein (1994) argues that there are always three 'times' present in any linguistic act as language "embeds a lexical content in time or ... links a lexical content to some time span."

- **Time of Situation** (TSit) includes the events, states, and processes as they occur;
- **Time of Utterance** (TU), in this case refers to classroom time; and
- **Topic Time** (TT), the time for which the utterance makes an assertion (p. 36).

Topic Time serves as the link between the TSit and the TU, and it is through TT that temporal contour is established in language. Translated into more linguistic terminology, the relationship between TT, TSit, and TU will determine the tense and aspectual choices that a speaker needs to make when talking about events that are embedded in a story.

Needless to say, languages do not frame these three times through isomorphic linguistic structures. Therefore advanced learners, in particular, have to work out the conventions for conveying the relationships between these three times in linguistically appropriate ways for the languages they are learning. Summarized in the time line below, the act of retelling a story sets up a wonderful pedagogical situation in which this can occur in authentic tasks. Initially learners are introduced to the notion that language embeds a lexical content in time or links a lexical content to some time span when instructors simply state that stories occur through the passage of time. Over the course of the semester learners will continuously consider the effects this has on how we tell stories.

A final critical element of the narrative that Chafe identifies is the point of view of the speaker, which generally predominates in a personal narrative because of the centrality of the narrator's personal experience. As learners are given the task to retell someone else's story, other narrative elements occur that contribute to a temporal multidimensionality—what Bakhtin (1986b, p. 104) refers to as "the problem of the second subject who is reproducing ... a text (another's) and creating a framing text (one that comments, evaluates, objects, and so forth)." In a narrative re-telling task, therefore, the element of evaluation, highlighted by both Labov's and Schiffrin's analysis, gains in prominence. This includes the speaker's perspective on the series of events that s/he is narrating: while the temporal sequence and the series of causes and effects of one action on the next in the chain of events that makes up a narrative are crucial, the outsider perspective of an onlooker from another time and another culture adds another dimension that is a non-prototypical feature of a narrative retelling in the Labovian sense.

For a narrative task, then, learners must balance carefully the following three cognitively complex elements in order to enact successfully the pedagogical task of retelling a narrative, either personal or public:

1. temporal coherence—verbal organization of temporally related events that are not part of the immediate situation;
2. verbalization of event structure—foregrounding and backgrounding of information relevant to each event in the series of events that makes up the narrative;
3. causal coherence—do things just happen one after another, or do the actors in a narrative "make" things happen? Taking a perspective—assigning intentionality, purposefulness, focus on a goal or outcome, intended or otherwise, are all part of the notion of causal coherence.

A fourth element will also be present, either overtly or covertly:

4. an *etic*-perspective—looking in on these events as an outsider and arriving at judgments about the appropriateness or inappropriateness of the actors' decisions, given what the learners know about historical outcomes and given their personal positionality.

Thus, although the expectation that high intermediate to advanced learners should readily be able to retell a story they have read and comprehended does not, at first glance, seem unreasonable, unpacking the layers of what this task entails reveals the considerable cognitive demands that complex narration places on the learner (Robinson 2001). In order to balance the cognitive challenge and ensure that students have the abilities and resources to succeed (what Csikszentmihalyi (1990) refers to as "flow"), the task is broken down into a series of graded task chains that allow learners to develop and expand these abilities throughout the advanced course. These pedagogical tasks are all context-driven, while requiring the students to allocate focal attention to a language-related performance issue. They are designed to promote what Segalowitz (2000) refers to as cognitive fluency, often initially at the expense of temporal fluency:

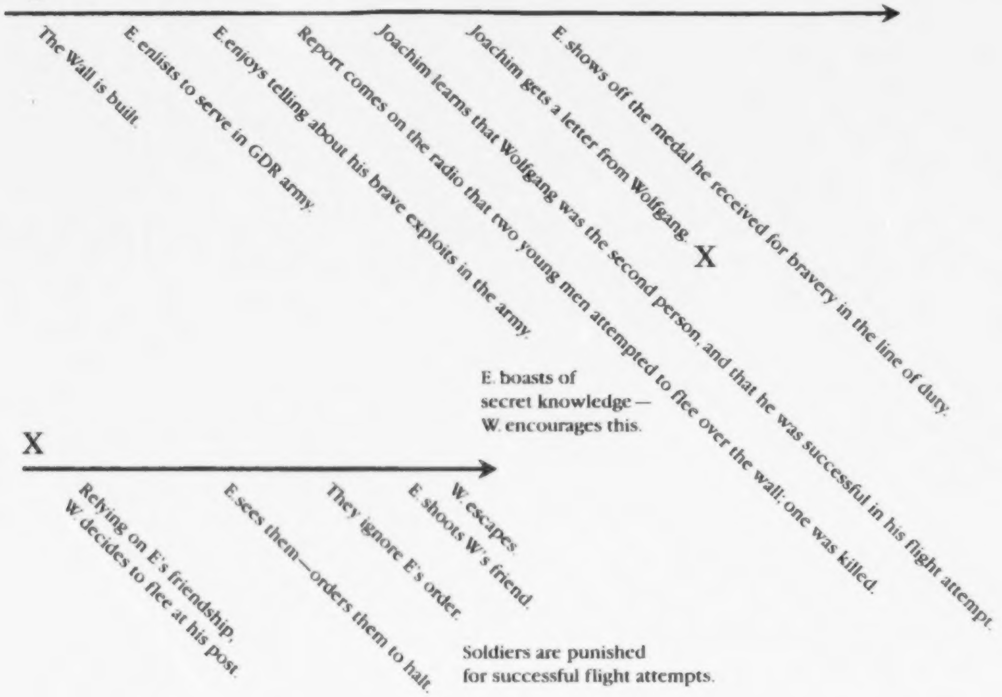
> Cognitive fluency refers to the efficiency of the operation of the cognitive mechanisms underlying performance. This efficiency reflects the particular balance that is struck between automatic processing and attention-based processing . . . A change in cognitive fluency refers to a change in this balance, say, a shift away from reliance on attention-based processes toward greater reliance on automatic processing. Performance fluency, in comparison, refers to the observable speed, fluidity, and accuracy of the . . . performance (p. 202).

In order to build up that kind of cognitive efficiency, learners are offered a variety of scaffolded instructional aids that enable them to acquire increasing control of the following linguistic features:

1. content—storyline and vocabulary to relate the events in the story
2. temporal adverbs and adverbial phrases
3. tense
4. causal adverbs and adverbial phrases
5. syntactic reorganization
6. lexicogrammatical means that allow for increased informational density, e.g., nominalizations.

How students are supported in their acquisition of this ability can be described in four steps. First, learners are introduced to the notion of telling a story by means of a time-line. For example, for the story *Drei Freunde* (Klecker 1991), which is read in the second theme, Two German Nations, they have to capture the following plot development: *Drei Freunde* (Klecker 1991) is the story of three casual male friends who, over time, develop different beliefs about life in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Without taking an evaluative stance, the story depicts the events leading up to and following the pivotal decision of one of the three to flee from the GDR and the attempts of another to prevent that escape. Because the narrator relates these actions without indicating the "rightness" of the individuals' decisions, students are empowered (and required) to make their own judgments as they retell the story from their perspective. They do so by creating a time line of those events occurring in the story that they deem important. They write this list on the board and use it for visual support during the enactment of the retelling task. Below is an example of such a time line for *Drei Freunde*.

Figure 1

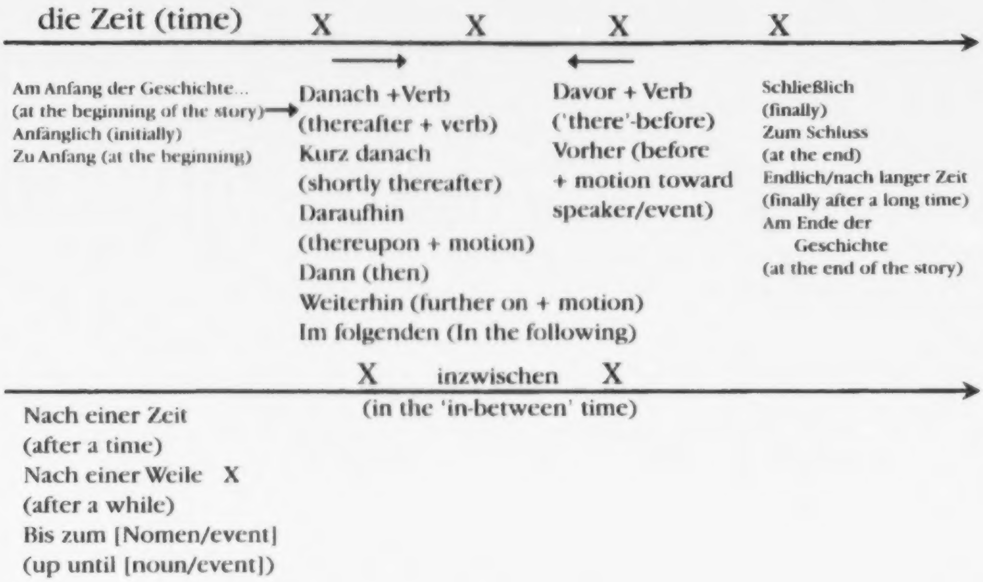

The Wall is built.
E. enlists to serve in GDR army.
E. enjoys telling about his brave exploits in the army.
Report comes on the radio that two young men attempted to flee over the wall; one was killed.
Joachim learns that Wolfgang was the second person, and that he was successful in his flight attempt.
Joachim gets a letter from Wolfgang.
X
E. shows off the medal he received for bravery in the line of duty.
E. boasts of secret knowledge — W. encourages this.
X
Relying on E.'s friendship, W. decides to flee at his post.
E. sees them—orders them to halt.
They ignore E.'s order.
E. shoots W.'s friend.
W. escapes.
Soldiers are punished for successful flight attempts.

Second, when students retell the story they refer to a list of events and a list of temporal adverbs, where each is graphically represented on a time line (Figure 2 below). The use of these visual aids enables learners to avoid telling the story by the simplistic means of *und dann . . . und dann* (and then . . . and then) and provides a scaffold that allows them to move forward and backward across the time line of the events. In this fashion they produce a linguistically cohesive retelling and also a logically convincing statement of their/the re-teller's perspective of causality and stance. Note that the temporal adverbs and adverbial phrases listed here have several things in common:

- They are all followed directly by the verb—listing them together in this way eases the students' processing burden as they plan their sentences.
- They are all motivated by the time line. For instance, in *danach, da-* refers to the event or state on the time line that is represented here by an X. Similarly, *daraufhin* can be understood in the same way: *da* is the location of the event, which is located ON the timeline (thus *auf*), and *hin* is a particle of motion away from the speaker. Time is universally conceived as moving forward, so *hin* means into the future. Each of these temporal adverbs can be decomposed to refer directly to the time line as a visible entity, which assists the re-teller in attending to TSit, TU, and TT, as they make choices about how to frame the events.

Figure 2

Eine Geschichte nacherzählen
(Retelling a Story)


die Zeit (time)
X
X
X
X
Am Anfang der Geschichte...
(at the beginning of the story)
Anfänglich (initially)
Zu Anfang (at the beginning)
Danach +Verb
(thereafter + verb)
Kurz danach
(shortly thereafter)
Daraufhin
(thereupon + motion)
Dann (then)
Weiterhin (further on + motion)
Im folgenden (In the following)
Davor + Verb
('there'-before)
Vorher (before
+ motion toward
speaker/event)
Schließlich
(finally)
Zum Schluss
(at the end)
Endlich/nach langer Zeit
(finally after a long time)
Am Ende der
Geschichte
(at the end of the story)
X
inzwischen
X
(in the 'in-between' time)
Nach einer Zeit
(after a time)
Nach einer Weile
X
(after a while)
Bis zum [Nomen/event]
(up until [noun/event])

Third, as learners participate in the retelling task, they need to be able to describe elements of events or states that are relevant parts of the storyline. This is an excellent opportunity to discuss foregrounding and backgrounding as phenomena that require a choice of present perfect as a device to signal movement to the next event vs. simple past and possibly other tenses as signaling continued 'location' upon that event or state. Thus, the choice of present perfect signals a move to the next event (or a previous event or state that has relevance to the unfolding story), while other choices of tense signal other moves or continued focus on relevant background features of the event currently under discussion.

Finally, these advanced learners discover the need to ascribe causes and effects by assigning causality/intentionality to actions and conditions in the story, promoting a search for linguistic elements in the texts and use of cause/effect adverbs and adverbial phrases.

An additional text that learners work with throughout the second theme *50 deutsche Jahre* to develop these abilities even further is a retrospective documentary produced by the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* in 1995 that commemorated the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. Entitled *1945-1995: Ascent out of ruins,* the 22-page document is a rich montage of photographic memorials of momentous events in German history, with a shorthand summation of the major events of each year accompanying the photographic evidence. As students work through the texts in the first topic of the second theme, they read and discuss the *Spiegel* documentary of the years 1945-1961, when the Berlin Wall was erected. Similarly, during the subsequent topics of the overall theme they will focus, respectively, on the years 1963-1976, 1977-1981 and 1983-1991. The tasks that accompany these readings are:

- Students determine individually and as a group the three most momentous events of a given time period. They do so through discussion and debate in class, with each student defending his or her choices, and with a final decision made as a class compromise. This is documented on a handout provided to the students in the next class period. With each successive set of years, this handout becomes more extensive and complex.

- The second task develops out of the product and process of the first. It requires students to continue to debate the merits of their decisions based on what they now know to have occurred in the German story. In other words, after discussing the period "1977-1981" they must re-evaluate the quality of their earlier decisions about the relative importance of events in the "1963-1976" time frame in light of what they now know. Recurring with the "1977-1981" and the "1983-1991" time frames, this task becomes increasingly complex and is more heatedly debated as students recognize in hindsight the importance of events that they might have excluded earlier on.
- The previous recurring, yet varied task prepares students for performing the intricate culminating oral assessment task for the third theme later on in the semester, which reverts to the *Drei Freunde* story: a trial of one of the protagonists, Eberhardt, in 1993, after the Wall has come down. With each learner taking a role, all reassess everything they know about that time in order to either defend or condemn Eberhardt's actions. This requires them not only to consider the additional knowledge that has become available with the passage of time but to take a position with regard to the rightness or wrongness of each character's actions at the earlier time during which the *Drei Freunde* story had unfolded. Students readily recognize that this classroom activity mirrors lawsuits that have occurred and continue to occur in Germany, as individuals struggle to right wrongs and reclaim possessions that belonged to their families prior to the splitting of Germany into two nations. They also realize that the decisions we make are always situated in our understanding of the unfolding of events in time, looking both forward and backward, and that the justifications we provide for our decisions are couched in linguistic terms that reflect the time frame from which we position ourselves as we give reasons for our stances.

With this close-up view of a central component of narration, the expression of time, we sought to demonstrate both the complexity of what is involved for the advanced learner and also the benefits of a meaning-based pedagogy of tasks that carefully considers links between meaning and form through learners' cognitive engagement. In our view such an approach also provides an additional example for Samuda's insight (2001) that any discussion of task in instructed settings must place tasks and teachers' roles in a complementary relationship, rather than in splendid isolation. Thus, she reports on how teachers might negotiate, in three interlocking stages, the all-important focus on meaning. They might first enhance the semantic environment of a task, and then systematically mine it through what she calls "precasts" (contrasting that with the heavy emphasis on recasts in the SLA literature) and careful interweaves of the meaning-form relationships that are available as choices for expressing certain meanings. Finally, teachers and learners would progress to an examination of those choices in light of the meaning-oriented judgments that motivated them. Similarly, we wanted to demonstrate how this meaning-form-meaning progression assures that two kinds of essential language-acquisitional tasks can be continually and artfully interwoven in order to support advanced L2 learning—knowledge-constructing tasks that make new meaning-form relationships and language-activating tasks that expand fluency and accuracy.

From the Flow of Experience to the Thinginess of the World: Public Speeches as Macro-genres

Beyond explicating how a cognitive, genre-based approach might address what are primarily sentence-level features, we want also to exemplify its usefulness at the textual level. For that reason we focus in this section on textual language use that highlights one of the defining characteristics of the advanced learner: the notion of choice (see Byrnes 2002b). To be sure, even the sentence-level tasks described in the previous section required learners not simply to apply local grammatical rules about time and tense in an additive system that moves from word to phrase, to sentence, to paragraph, to text. Nor were these learners engaged in first acquiring grammatical or linguistic competence, then discourse competence, and finally sociolinguistic and strategic competence (see Byrnes' 2002b critique of the unintended consequences of both the ACTFL guidelines and the Canale and Swain model). Instead, they were simultaneously and continuously challenged to make meaningful choices and to do so with a refined awareness that each element chosen might have repercussions at all strata of the language, from meaning to expression and back, and could affect all units of the language, from phrase, to clause, to sentence, to discourse. It is in order to account for that feature of language use that a cognitive and functional approach considers grammar (not "syntax") to be systemic. As Halliday (1994) states, grammar is "a theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options" (p. xiv); it is a grammar of relations wherein "the grammatical system as a whole represents the semantic code of a language" and "the context of culture determines the nature of the code" (ibid. xxxi).

Accordingly, in this section we explore the notion of situated and interlocking choices at the textual level through the construct of genre. We select as suitable for this more advanced acquisitional stage the macro-genre public speech with its micro-genre of the political speech delivered before a live audience. We limit our discussion of political speeches to two perspectives: first, as an exemplar for a transitioning literacy and, second, in terms of affordances for expanding semiotic possibilities. Our intention is to highlight both the cognitive and the social focus that is crucial for facilitating advanced L2 learning and pedagogy. At the same time, our exploration is intended to lay the groundwork for a framework for continua of multiple literacies that we propose as suitable for addressing a number of concerns in college programs that aim to support advanced L2 learning.

Locating the Advanced Learner of "Text in Context"—A Literacy Perspective

Once more, the backdrop for our discussion is the GUGD program, this time a course that immediately follows *German Stories, German Histories* in the department's curriculum as a Level IV course, *Text in Context*. Building on learners' previously developed narrative capacities, its central goal is for students to become familiar with academic forms of discourse in all modalities by means of three thematic areas: (1) *Von der Gegenwart der Vergangenheit* (Of the presence of the past), which focuses on the need to understand the present through our past (hi)stories with specific emphasis on the Holocaust and the Hitler era; (2) *Hochschulreform* (Higher education reform), which examines the changing higher education scene and its relationship to larger socio-political concerns in a changing European and global environment, thus also preparing students for study abroad sojourns; and (3) *Mitten in Europa* (In the middle of Europe), which deals with Germany and European integration—challenges and opportunities (for details, see Byrnes' personal web site http://data.georgetown.edu/departments/german/faculty/byrnesh/index.html).

In line with its curricular location—the fourth semester of the intensive sequence, after 18 semester credit hours of instruction—the course is designed to help students gain a level of competence that enables even those who began their study of German at Georgetown to matriculate directly in a German-speaking university during their junior year. It is built around a linking of reading, writing, and speaking. Through an integrated text-based approach students gradually shift their language use from oral to more literate forms of expression in all modalities at both the lexicogrammatical and the textual level: students are to acquire differentiated vocabulary and greater grammatical accuracy, fluency, and complexity by focusing on the relationship between meaning/content and linguistic forms; and they are to become sensitive to language use in terms of textual genres in different communicative situations where the participants have different communicative goals. Featured literacy-related abilities are:

- textual analysis and interpretation for enhancing reading comprehension in both intensive and extensive reading (see Swaffar, this volume, for the pedagogical benefits of the précis template in that regard);
- creative, journalistic, essayistic, and academic writing in a process-writing approach;
- increasingly extended monologic formal speaking events; and
- listening comprehension with diverse audiovisual materials, supported by outlining and note-taking.

Such abilities are at the heart of summarizing, interpreting, critiquing, and presenting and substantiating an opinion or argument, orally and in writing; taken together, they are not only critical for study abroad but for any other professional context in which one might use German as an L2.

Political Speeches as a Transitioning Genre for Acquiring Advanced L2 Competence

Returning to our earlier proposal to make genre a foundational construct for a content-based curriculum and pedagogy, we reiterate that genres arise as a result of particular conditions of speech and a particular function (scientific, technical, commentarial, business, public policy, and, of course, everyday situations). Diverse genres are thus the result of recurrent social situations (for elaboration of this central notion beyond Miller see, for example, Halliday and Martin 1993; Hyland 2000; Hyon 1996; Johns 2002; Martin 1985, 1999). They are typified forms of rhetorical action and constitute "certain relatively stable thematic, compositional, and stylistic types of utterance" (Bakhtin 1986a, p. 64). In their totality, they embody an aspect of cultural rationality.

A number of broad concerns for advanced learning can therefore be readily addressed: first and foremost, the inherent cultural embeddedness of language use; second, the well-known tension in human language between centrifugal forces, which reflect the specificity of individual consciousnesses, and centripetal forces, whose shared center instantiates the possibility of communication within a cultural-linguistic community in the first place; and third, the well-known fact that, for advanced learners, much like for native speakers, the ability to be full participants in the discourses of the L2 culture is a matter of practical command of the generic forms used in the given spheres, which both specify ***what can be meant*** in certain contexts and ***how it can be meant***.

Characterizing Public Political Speeches: A Generic, Cognitive Approach

So how might such abilities be enhanced by a genre-based approach in general, and what language acquisitional potential would public political speeches have in particular? What features of language might be highlighted? What pedagogical tasks might be especially suitable?

As a genre, public speeches before a live audience instantiate a range of choices that are available for language use. These can be expressed in terms of a number of continua that, themselves, provide a dynamic trajectory for L2 acquisition.

First and at the most general, curricular level, they offer an advantageous mix between fixity and fluidity as far as learner processing is concerned. On the one hand, they draw on capacities for which learners have developed comfortable levels of performance (e.g., the ability to narrate a series of events as a coherent whole). On the other hand, they can be pedagogically shaped so as to stretch student capacities into new meaning-form links (e.g., toward the ability to establish cause and effect relationships between abstract concepts, for example, in order to express the reluctance to engage in pedagogical reform in Germany as being tied to wide-spread societal expectations for state financing of all education, including higher education). Therefore, public speeches are particularly suitable for what is a common phenomenon at the advanced level of instruction—learners of, at times, dramatically different performance profiles and therefore highly individual learner needs.

Second, their most frequent components, the moves of the genre "public political speech," tend to involve areas of language use that students have encountered before in other textual environments. They now re-occur in a fashion that demands learners' closer attention, in terms of the position and function of these features in an entirely new and explicitly public genre. Among the generic moves are: often ritualized recognition and appreciation of the occasion, location, and audience; (overt) statement of thematic focus and structure of the presentation; historical/issue-oriented/adversarial positioning of the thematic focus; provision of human-interest examples; a problem-solution trajectory that provides steps for resolution; expressions of solidarity, achievement, good will and hopeful outlook on the part of the speaker toward the audience. These broad moves—including their boundaries, the internal coherences of each move, the transitions between them, and their overarching sense of wholeness, often through precise repetition or modification through variation—are excellent areas for closer attention on the part of learners, singly and in terms of their position and function in the whole text and, therefore, for creative tasks and task clusters.

Third, from the standpoint of content, public political speeches inherently deal with contemporary, major concerns in society. As long as overly specific knowledge is avoided (e.g., intricacies of policies, detailed knowledge about personalities and party positions), they constitute an excellent window not only on what a society or at least its politicians deem worthy of attention but also how that attentiveness is shaped in the public forum, a central concern of literacy. Because many topics either have an inherent international relations component or at least have parallels in other countries, some background knowledge and interest can be either assumed or created without too much difficulty (e.g., relations between the European Union and the United States strained over the Iraq war).

The following incomplete list is intended merely to illustrate this fact by highlighting broad features of the genre that can be used to focus learners' attention on formal features at different levels of the language system:

- Publicly delivered political speeches are orally presented texts that are nonetheless typically based on written scripts.
- They are also highly interactional, inasmuch as their choice of language forms intends to create high audience involvement in the argument or ethos of the speech (Thompson 2001). One could even say that they are a kind of partly enacted dialogue (e.g., by means of applause, sometimes shouts).
- Because they are orally delivered, they attend particularly well to an overt flow of information. This usually results in strong and transparent structuring, a benefit to L2 learners, both as comprehenders and as creators of such genres. Thompson (2001) refers to such texts as being "interactive" inasmuch as they carefully guide the reader/listener through the information flow of a text.
- They are monologic performances that are textually shaped by their oral delivery, among other things in terms of the auditory, image-creating, aesthetic-poetic body of the language (e.g., rhythm and stress; intonation contours that accompany different syntactic choices like statements, questions, exclamations, repeated identical clause introductions that create rhythm and expressive tension; alliteration and rhyme).
- Their desire for audience involvement privileges much evaluation and appraisal over objective description. Martin, in particular, has developed an entire APPRAISAL system (1999) within the register variable tenor, alongside NEGOTIATION and INVOLVEMENT. In its diverse manifestations, appraisal is concerned with the ongoing re/construal of relations of power (equal/unequal status) and solidarity (near/distant contact) among interlocutors. Among other things, appraisal functions to affirm publicly held values, thereby supporting the processes associated with public institutions and institutional processes, thus providing an excellent window for L2 learners to begin to recognize and appreciate assumptions that often are expressed only in this fashion.
- Finally, their desire for memorableness privileges the use of imagery, proverbs, and sayings, and allusions to deeply embedded cultural value systems. Often one or more major metaphors provide conceptual and linguistic coherence to an entire talk.

Making Genre-framed Textual Choices: A Semiotic Perspective

Beyond its primarily textually oriented categories, the micro-genre "public political speech" can also be described in terms of the nature of the semiotic practices that it privileges. When genre-related semiotic practices appear also to be linked to developmental considerations and explicitly to advanced levels of language use, as Halliday (1993) explicates, then semiotic considerations offer a particularly felicitous and principled approach to both curricular planning and instruction. Specifically, systemic-functional linguistics examines the nature of changing semiotic practices, that is, the nature of cognition and consciousness, when members of a speech community gradually expand their initial semiotic repertoire that is focused on highly situated and often interactive and transactional activities of daily life to a second semiotic repertoire that is closely associated with public life (Halliday 1993). In our societies, it is perhaps best described in terms of institutional contexts and as both the medium and the instructional goal of education.

Here, the languages of literate societies in particular reveal the elaboration of two basic forms of semiosis. Reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1991) distinction, Halliday calls these the congruent forms of semiosis, the grammar of everyday life action and experience, which emphasize function, process, and flow, and the synoptic forms of semiosis, which emphasize stasis, structure, and "thinginess." Over time, the latter have come to dominate in public and written language, thereby gradually reconstruing life from the primacy of doing and happening to a reality as object. In other words, the world is now experienced in metaphorical terms—as Halliday puts it, as a text—as a consequence of which dramatically different knowledge potentialities are created.

A timely example for this difference from our Washington vantage point after a very snowy winter, might be this: "This year Washington got much more snow than in the last five years" as contrasted with saying "This winter the amount of precipitation recorded in Washington in the form of snow far exceeded that measured in the last five years."

It is important to note that neither one or the other semiotic construal is inherently better. It is, instead, a choice to be made, where the appropriateness of these choices is particularly well observed and analyzed for their meaning-form dynamics within the prototypicalities of a genre. Here speakers make numerous interlocking choices, regarding the topical focus and how that extends over longer discursive stretches in terms of certain genre requirements, earlier referred to as the field; in the interpretation and communicative significance of social relationships that are played out between the real or imagined communicative partners, the tenor; and on the lexicogrammatical plane, the grammatical and lexical resources that are particularly well suited for expressing these meanings, the mode.

With regard to the lexicogrammatical plane, in particular, Halliday and Martin (1993) have singled out the unique shift from verbal to nominal structures, what they refer to as "grammatical metaphor," as one of the key facilitators of our ability to see the world in a fashion that allows us to hold and measure it and experiment with it, as we remove it from the messiness of the singularity of any process in time and space and make it an object and thereby "objective." According to them, it is this shift in semiosis, a cognitive-linguistic phenomenon, rather than the acquisition of specialized vocabulary or the control of certain syntactic features per se, that poses the most serious problems for competent command of scientific literacy. Our experience corroborates this observation for advanced learners, as they grapple with that semiotic shift and its consequences at all levels of the language system.

Implications for Advanced L2 Learning

In sum, an emphasis on meaning-driven choices within the framework of genre shifts the focus of instruction and learning from simple notions of accuracy to principled ways of describing situated appropriateness of use in order to capture a key capacity of the advanced L2 learner. It enables instruction to emphasize that language is a symbolic, that is, a social resource, a system of highly conventionalized and nonetheless diverse meaning-making possibilities that are available to the language user within a discourse community. The aim is for learners to acquire just that ability, to become full participants in the discourses of the L2 culture, now described in terms of a practical command of the generic forms used in the given spheres. As previously noted, these specify both *what* can be meant in certain contexts and *how* it can be meant. As a result Bakhtin's insight into native language use in spoken language applies as well for the foreign language learner: observed shortcomings are "not a matter of an impoverished vocabulary or of style, taken abstractly: this is entirely a matter of the inability to command a repertoire of genres of social conversation, the lack of a sufficient supply of those ideas about the whole of the utterance that help to cast one's speech quickly and naturally in certain compositional and stylistic forms" (1986a, p. 80).

To reiterate, these choices are meaning-driven and occur within conventions of use that have high probabilistic values but which, nevertheless, show flexibility and variation. Only within this framed flexibility can individual voice and identity occur and be gained—not by "personalizing things" or being "creative", so often a preferred pedagogical recommendation but one that can easily result in sociolinguistically non-recognizable utterances. Rather, access to the conversational or the written/printed forum, acceptance of one's contributions to it, and the ability to use the forum for one's interests and with one's own spoken or written voice depend on a sufficiently elaborated knowledge of conventions of use in the first place. In this fashion identity, through membership in a discourse community, and individual place and voice are both acquired, differentially played out under different circumstances for different purposes, and continuously maintained through social use.

Developing Continua of Multiple Literacies in Collegiate FL Programs

In light of the previous discussion, we conclude with a tentative proposal for how collegiate FL programs might imagine curricular planning and pedagogies in support of the advanced learner and advanced learning. We realize, of course, that there are many ways in which one can specify the acquisitional needs that learners have or, worded more positively, the kinds of macro- and clustered micro-tasks that students should encounter in order gradually to make the shift to advanced levels of competency. Obvious as well is the fact that, unless the previous instructional levels have carefully set the stage, such a shift can easily be seen as—and indeed may well be—out of students' reach. This is so because, as described, the text-based cognitive demands made of L2 learners, particularly with regard to information structuring (Caroll et al. 2000; Carroll and Lambert in press) and highly specific lexical processing (Sprang 2003), are essentially at a par with and may, at times, even outpace the cognitive-linguistic demands made of learners in their L1. Therefore, they critically require long-term educational attention that students may not always have experienced in their prior L1 education. Thus, in developing L2 literacy as in developing L1 literacy, two major developments appear central: first, students' need to learn to conceptualize meaning-form relationships in a band of possibilities from perceptual to metaphorical, analytical, and systemic in order to attain cognitive fluency; and, second, their need to develop considerable levels of metalinguistic awareness about meaning-form relationships, from the macro-level of genre to the micro-level of lexicogrammatical choices (Sprang 2003).

Below we provide a summary of how systemic-functional linguistics construes these two needs within its three key parameters of field, tenor, and textuality. Two comments are in order: first, this is inherently an incomplete listing, and, second, reflecting the fundamentally developmental aspect of acquiring these phenomena, our proposal is expressed in terms of continua which should be imagined as describing language acquisition over extended periods of time.

Continua of Multiple Literacies:
A Genre-based Curricular and Developmental Progression Toward Advanced L2 Learning

- ***in terms of field/content***

concrete	↔	abstract subject matter
perceptual semiosis, i.e., congruent semiosis	↔	metaphorical semiosis, i.e., synoptic semiosis
focus on process, flow, and the verbal paradigm	↔	focus on product, stasis, and the nominal paradigm, along with all its modificational possibilities, either pre- or post-nominal
simple retrieval of experiential meaning/information	↔	transformation in terms of categories, principles, laws, general societal practices
context-derived	↔	elaborated content and forms of expression
literal meaning	↔	complex figurative, metaphorical, ambiguous meaning
self-oriented single perspective	↔	other-oriented multiple perspective

decisions regarding the expression of information on a continuum ranging from implicit to explicit treatment of information

decisions regarding the backgrounding and foregrounding of particular aspects of the information, reflecting its presumed retrievability by the audience and its intended role in the text.

developing gradated forms of veiling, omitting, backgrounding actors along with a focus on outcomes of processes, products, stasis, a manipulable object and ideational world (importance of passives, impersonal constructions)

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- ***in terms of tenor***

personal	↔	public forms of interaction (and content)
short interactive turns	↔	extended monologic language use (but with internal textual dialogue)
direct interpretation or negotiation of the persona of a conversational partner in a particular setting	↔	textual creation of a setting (a staging), and creation of an authorial voice and an idealized "reader-in-the-text" or layered internal audiences at various levels of distancing and involvement in order to be persuasive
addressing familiar conversational partners	↔	ability to address both more general and also more specialized audiences

expansion of forms of appraisal resources (affect, judgment, appreciation) as ways of connecting to the other and to larger societal and institutional values

expanded repertoire of positioning oneself and conversational partner in a real or an imagined exchange (negotiating social role relationships with reader/listener)

- ***in terms of textuality***

increasingly competent creation of a textual whole through various devices, including

- *explicit forms of coherence* (e.g., chronological, additive, comparative, adversative, causative connections);

- *implicit forms of coherence,* through devices such as cohesive (identity) chains (e.g., through a complex web of co-referentiality) and cohesive (lexical) strings (e.g., by means of lexical repetition, synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy);

coherence and cohesion created through reference to the outside world	↔	coherence and cohesion created through reference to intratextual and intertextual worlds
coherence and cohesion that incorporates the here and now	↔	building up a web of different degrees of assumed familiarity
single dimension narrator perspective	↔	complex interweaving of narrator's world and story world, in time and place
pragmatically motivated and realized forms	↔	syntactically motivated and realized forms
mostly conjoined sentences	↔	reducing, embedding, relativizing

As we hope has become clear, public speeches are a particularly rich genre from the standpoint of learner acquisitional needs. They are well situated within the dynamics outlined above and realize these meaning-form linkages in diverse ways, both implicitly and explicitly. They instantiate the two primary modalities—oral and written language—with a pitch toward written language features. Furthermore, they instantiate the advantages of

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planned versus spontaneous language, a performance feature that provides much-needed cognitive and real scaffolding (e.g., through previous discussion in class, outlining, multiple drafting, overhead materials) as learners venture into semiotically and textually more complex language use. They can thus serve as a highly variable source of thoughtful engagement and as a resource for modeling and scaffolding as learners progress from high intermediate to advanced stages of L2 learning.

We exemplify these continua within one particular context, a writing task in which students create a political speech in the third and concluding unit of *Text in Context*, which is focused on Germany in Europe. Like most public political speeches, the students' speech is also written out, with the express understanding that they would deliver it orally in front of a German audience. From the standpoint of content they are to address the extent to which the deliberations that shaped the American Constitution, well captured in the Federalist Papers, might provide useful guidance in Europe's ongoing deliberation about the creation of its own constitution for the Union, a suggestion that is repeatedly made in the German media. The assignment itself follows the tripartite division with which students have become quite familiar: task appropriateness in terms of genre and breadth of obligatory and optional genre moves; content understood as depth of information; and language use, as manifesting itself in identifiable features at the discourse, sentence, and lexicogrammatical levels.

That task sheet, in its original German version (Appendix 1) and an English translation (Appendix 2), is followed by samples of opening paragraphs of the speeches that students wrote (Appendix 3, translated in Appendix 4). Disregarding all other aspects of students' performances, one benefit of the macro-level genre approach is that it can readily differentiate between those students who positioned themselves appropriately as an American invited speaker who was asked to address a particular topic (Samples 1-5, salient passages in question are underlined) before a German audience and those who chose to speak on European integration issues purely from a content side, with no discernible social context (Samples 6-8). Though their representations were, in general, factually correct and linguistically appropriately sophisticated to characterize them as advanced writers, the latter group nevertheless failed to respect the obligatory opening moves of the genre in question and thus, in a not insignificant fashion, fell short of the genre-based task.

One may object that these genre-based positionings on the part of the writers/speakers tend to be rather formulaic, sometimes even awkward, and, in any case, quite brief and therefore should not be valued as highly. However, in all cases, those students that included these markers continued to create, throughout their speeches, a dialogic relationship with their audience (e.g., through repeated explicit address to them, through rhetorical questions, and through incorporating the audience's imputed opinions/hopes/fears/future actions in the structure of their argument as well as in their evaluation of its content). In other words, an overt genre perspective expressed in the opening of the piece carried over into the formation of coherence and cohesion throughout the entire text.

Finally, as a way of returning to our initial claim that a comprehensive consideration of advanced learning is necessary at the collegiate level, we put the literacy and genre-focus of the approach we have advocated into a larger context: Appendix 5 provides a summary statement for students' expected end-of level writing performances within an integrated curricular progression. Our intention is not so much to assert the validity of its particulars as to show how advanced performance (Levels III and IV), expressed in terms of expectations that intricately link the ability to employ public oral and written genre and in terms of tasks, content, and language use, can become a reasonable learning outcome if an entire curriculum takes such a stance. Coming from the students' perspective, advanced performance can indeed be attained when they have experienced an integrated and carefully sequenced curriculum all along. Of course, the time necessary for attaining such abilities is likely to vary under different institutional and programmatic conditions, with different student populations, and, most assuredly, for different languages. But we suggest that the progression itself, anchored in genre, offers a language form-independent, but literacy-oriented and cognitively grounded road map that a faculty body can use to devise its own language-specific curriculum and carefully articulated instructional sequence. Finally, from the standpoint of instruction, such an approach offers a framework for decision-making that, over long stretches, should lead to the desired balanced development of language capacities, in terms of accuracy, fluency, and complexity of language use in a range of discursive environments that characterize societies.

Because our programmatic experiences using such an approach have been most rewarding, for faculty and students, and most gratifying for students' learning outcomes, we have related them here, as a way of encouraging professional discussion about the considerable challenges but also the considerable opportunities for attaining advanced levels of competence in adult FL learning through a genre-based cognitive approach to curriculum, instruction, and assessment.

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Appendix 1

Unterrichtseinheit III: Mitten in Europa

Text in Context

Die Europäische Union und die Vereinigten Staaten: Mögliche Vergleiche und Lehren

Aufgabe

Sie sind eingeladen worden, nächsten Monat bei der Gesellschaft für Deutsch-amerikanische Beziehungen in Weimar einen Gastvortrag zu halten. Für Ihren Beitrag wünscht man sich eine Äußerung Ihrerseits zu dem oft erwähnten Thema "Die Europäische Union und die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika—ein Modell?" Ihre Rede ist auf 15 Minuten beschränkt, mit anschließender Diskussion zu Ihren Äußerungen.

Beachten Sie besonders Ihre Position als RednerIn vor diesem Publikum. Während von Ihren deutschen Zuhörern gute Vorkenntnisse zur Situation der EU zu erwarten sind, bringen Sie vor allem die Perspektive eines Amerikaners/einer Amerikanerin, der/die mit der Gründungsgeschichte der USA und der weiteren Entwicklung des Landes vertraut ist. Diese ist Ihrem Publikum in ihren Besonderheiten wahrscheinlich nicht so bekannt. Genau diese Aspekte müssen Sie daher den Zuhörern vor Augen führen, um sie mit der gegenwärtigen europäischen Situation in Verbindung zu setzen. *Behalten Sie also diesen Redeanlass, diesen Redeausgangspunkt, und diese Redeintention ständig im Auge.*

Inhalt und Struktur

Beschreiben Sie zunächst die jetzige Situation der Europäischen Union aus Ihrer Perspektive als AmerikanerIn. Führen Sie die Themen ein, auf die Sie im Hauptteil der Rede eingehen wollen und die die Vergleichbarkeit der EU mit den Vereinigten Staaten aufzeigen—oder auch nicht.

Im zweiten Teil, dem Hauptteil der Rede, geht es um folgendes:

Sie erörtern 3-5 eindrucksvolle Bereiche hinsichtlich der Vergleichbarkeit der beiden Staatsbildungen, USA—Europäische Union, die Ihrer Meinung nach Ihren Zuhörern Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede verständlich machen können.

Denken Sie bitte sowohl an die von uns gelesenen Artikel als auch an die im Unterricht vorgetragenen Reden. **Obligatorisch ist die Miteinbeziehung von mindestens vier Artikeln** beider Textgruppen. (Siehe unten für Sprachkonventionen beim Zitieren.)

Im dritten, abschließenden Teil behandeln Sie Ihre Empfehlungen und Hoffnungen hinsichtlich der zukünftigen Entwicklung Europas. Das sind wahrscheinlich sehr breit gehaltene Überlegungen, die aber mit den vorhergehenden Darstellungen unbedingt in Verbindung stehen müssen. Zum Beispiel, inwiefern ist ein Vergleich zwischen der Gründung der USA und der gegenwärtigen Situation Europas sinnvoll? Wie weit kann er gehen, wo bricht er zusammen? Welche Konsequenzen ergeben sich daraus für die Haltung der Öffentlichkeit (weniger der Politiker) gegenüber den Entwicklungen?

Sprachlicher Schwerpunkt

1. *Diskursebene*

- Verdichtete aber gleichzeitig genügend umfangreiche Darstellung der gegenwärtigen Situation der EU und Ihrer großen Themen: Hier ist Nominalstil der öffentlichen politischen Rede angebracht.

- Klare Markierung Ihrer Äußerungen durch globale Textstrukturierung, z. B. Verwendung von Diskursmarkern (Sequenz, Zusammenfassung, persönliche Stellungnahme an wichtigen Stellen Ihrer Rede, rhetorische Fragen, Vergleich-Kontrast). Siehe Handouts!

- Komplexe Konstruktionen der öffentlichen Sprache, z.B. Relativsätze, pränominale Modifikationen, Variation in der Syntax (Haupt- und Nebensätze), aber auch Topikalisierungen und vor allem gute Verkettung der Gedanken im Diskurs (Kohärenz und Kohäsion).

2. *Satzebene*

- Verbpositionen, Kasus, Genus, Präpositionen und ihre Kasus, Passivkonstruktionen, Adjektivendungen, usw. Prüfen Sie Ihre Grammatik gründlich, bevor Sie diese Arbeit einreichen! (Verwenden Sie dazu auch die Korrekturblätter der anderen schriftlichen Arbeiten.)

- Tempus und Modus, die Möglichkeiten des Konjunktivs und die besondere Aussagekraft von Passiv- oder Aktivkonstruktionen.

3. *Lexikogrammatische Ebene*

- Themenspezifisches Vokabular zur EU (siehe Arbeit zu semantischen Feldern)

- Nominalkonstruktionen (mit ihren diversen Modifikationen), die die öffentliche Rede kennzeichnen.

- Variable Lexikalik, ganz besonders eindrucksvolle oder zumindest in der öffentlichen Rede einfach übliche Kollokationen.

- Bildhafte und persönlich gefärbte Sprache, die Sie als einen gewandten und angenehmen Redner/eine Rednerin erscheinen lässt. Hier sollten Sie die Möglichkeiten von Metaphern bedenken, sowie evaluierende und an die Zuhörer appellierende rhetorische Gesten. *Siehe Handouts*.

Schreibkonventionen

1. Sinnvolle Strukturierung in Absätze.
2. Interpunktion, ganz besonders Kommasetzung.
3. Deutsche Rechtschreibung, ganz besonders Groß- und Kleinschreibung.
4. Beim Zitieren anderer Textquellen oder auch beim Paraphrasieren von Gedanken anderer verwenden Sie folgende Konvention: Zitat, in Klammern gefolgt von Name und Datum des Erscheinungsjahres der Quelle, z.B. "... (Fischer 1999)."

Schreibprozess

1. Gedankenexkurs im Unterricht.
2. Themensammlung am 7. Dezember einreichen.
3. **Abgabetermin: 12. Dezember,** sowohl in Hardcopy- als auch in elektronischer Form.

Länge: etwa 5 Seiten, doppelter Zeilenabstand, Times New Roman 12.

Bewertung

Task Appropriateness, Content und Language Focus werden gleichgewichtet gewertet.
Bei Fragen und Problemen wenden sie sich per e-mail oder in der Sprechstunde an mich.
Viel Erfolg!

Appendix 2

(Translation of Appendix 1)

Instructional Unit III: In the Middle of Europe

Text in Context

The European Union and the United States: Possible Comparisons and Lessons

Task

You have been invited to give a lecture at the Society for German-American Relations in Weimar next month. For your contribution, the organizers are looking for a presentation on the much-discussed topic "The European Union and the Founding of the United States—A Model?" Your talk is limited to 15 minutes, to be followed by discussion of your remarks.

Please observe your position as a speaker to this particular audience. While you should expect good background knowledge from your German audience regarding the situation in the EU, you primarily contribute the perspective of an American who is familiar with the foundational history of the USA and subsequent development of the county. In its particularities this is most likely less familiar to your audience. Therefore, it is precisely those aspects that you must bring to the awareness of your audience in order to link them to the present situation in Europe. *In other words, continuously keep in mind this occasion for your speech, this starting point for your presentation, and this intention of your talk.*

Content and Structure

Begin by describing the current situation of the European Union from your perspective as an American. Introduce the topics on which you will focus in the body of your talk and which demonstrate the comparability of the EU with the United States—or not.

In the second part, the main part of the speech, address the following:

Discuss 3-5 topics that are particularly illustrative of the comparability of the formation of the two states, USA—European Union, which in your estimation would enable your audience to understand similarities and differences particularly well.

Please refer back both to the articles that we read as well as the various class presentations. **You must incorporate at least four articles** of both types of texts as sources (please refer to citation conventions below).

In the third, concluding section you address your recommendations and hopes with regard to future developments in Europe. Most likely these are very general reflections which, however, must be connected to your earlier representations. For example, to what extent does a comparison between the founding of the U.S. and the contemporary European situation make sense? How far does it extend, where are its limits? Which consequences can be deduced from that fact for the position of the public (less so the politicians) with respect to ongoing developments?

Language Focus

1. *Discourse level*

- Condensed, but also sufficiently elaborated description of the current situation of the EU with respect to your major themes. The nominalized style of public political speech is appropriate.

- Clear marking of your points by means of textual organization, i.e., through discourse markers (sequencing, summarizing, taking a personal position at key junctures of your talk, rhetorical questions, comparison-contrast). *Refer back to your handouts!*

- Complex constructions of public speaking, e.g., relative clauses, extended prenominal modification, variation in syntax (with regard to use and placement of main and subordinated clauses), topicalization and, most important, chaining of thoughts in discourse (coherence and cohesion).

2. *Sentence level*

- Verb positions, case, gender, prepositions and their case requirements, passive constructions, adjective endings. (Re-)check your grammar before turning in this assignment! Also, refer back to the correction sheets of your other written work.

- Tense and mood, the possibilities of the subjunctive and the particular expressive force of active and passive constructions.

3. *Lexicogrammatical level*

- Thematic vocabulary on the EU (see work on the semantic fields).

- Noun constructions (with their diverse modifications) as they characterize public speaking.

- Variable lexicon, particularly memorable collocations or, at the very least, those that are simply expected usage.

- Imageable and personally marked language that shows you as an agile and pleasant public speaker. Here you should consider the possibilities of metaphors and also rhetorical gestures that are evaluative or create interaction with your audience. *See handouts*

Writing Conventions

1. Appropriate paragraphing.
2. Punctuation, particularly with regard to commas.
3. German spelling conventions, particularly capitalization and lower case writing.
4. When citing other textual sources or when paraphrasing the thoughts of others, please use the following convention: textual citation, followed in parentheses by name and date of appearance of the source " ...." (Fischer 1999).

Writing Process

1. In class brain storming.
2. Submit list of topics in focus (December 7).
3. **Due date**: December 12, in hard copy and electronic form.

Length: approximately 5 pages, double spaced, Times New Roman 12.

Assessment: Task Appropriateness, Content, and Language Focus equally.

If you have questions, please send me an e-mail or come to my office hours. Good luck!

Appendix 3

Unedited Opening Paragraph of Student Writing In Response to the Above Assignment

(Underlined sections realize speaker awareness of the genre "Invited public speech")

- Beispiel 1

Die Europäische Union und die Vereinigten Staaten: Mögliche Vergleiche und Lehren

Herzlichen Dank für die Einladung. Heute beabsichtige ich vor der Gesellschaft für Deutsch-amerikanische Beziehungen hier in Weimar meine Äußerung zum Thema „Die Europäische Union und die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika—ein Modell?" zu unterbreiten. Ich drücke die Hoffnung aus, dass diese Äußerung sowohl dieses interessante Thema erhellen wird, als auch unser historisch tiefe Freundschaft verstärken.

Zu Beginn möchte ich das heutige Europa in meinen Augen—den Augen der USA—beschreiben ....

- Beispiel 2

Die Europäische Union und die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika—*ein Modell*

Sehr geehrte Zuhörer, herzlichen Dank für die Einladung. Ich freue mich, dass ich mich heute mit Ihnen zusammen setzen kann, um einige Überlegungen über die Zukunft der Europäischen Union in Bezug auf die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zu äussern. Heutzutage wundern sich viele, wie die EU in zehn Jahren, oder vielleicht auch in Jahrzehnten aussehen wird. Die Frage entsteht: ist es angemessen die gründungsgeschichtliche Verwandlungen Amerikas als Modell für die heutige und zukunftige Veränderungen innerhalb der EU zu verwenden? Ich werde versuchen, ihnen einige Übelegungen zu geben um eine Diskussion zu anregen, indem ich die jetzige Situation von der amerikanischen Perspektiv beschreibe, einige Vergleiche zwischen der EU und Amerika ziehe, und mit einige Empfehlungen und Hoffnungen der zukünftigen Entwicklung Europas schließe. ....

- Beispiel 3

Die Europäische Union und die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika—Ein Model?

Herzlichen Dank für die Einladung. Die Möglichkeit als Amerikanerin meine Meinungunen zur Frage der Gründung Amerikas als Leitbild der Europäischen Union zu äußern ist eine privilegierte Ehre. Aus amerikanischer Sicht steht die radikal und fundamental veränderte Europa an der Schwelle der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Integration. Mit der Einführung des Euro, dessen Verbindung sowohl große Chancen als auch ebenso große Risikien für die EU enthielte, haben die Europäer den ersten wirtschaftlichen Schritt voran genommen. Doch braucht die EU eine politische Entsprechung der Ökonomisierung, die nicht nur einen complexen Rahmen der Politisierung und Parlimentarisierung der EU unterstützt, sondern auch eine gemeinsame Identität der europäischen Bürger bietet.

Trotz wichtiger Abstufungen, gibt es einige eindrucksvolle Bereichen hinsichtlich der Vergleichbarkeit der beiden Staatsbildungen. Meiner Meinung nach ...

- Beispiel 4 (KeinTitel)

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren, Danke für die heutige Einladung. Ich bin erfreut hier bei der Gesellschaft für Deutsch-amerikanische Beziehungen in Weimar sein zu dürfen. Ich bin eingeladen worden, um über Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen Amerika und der Europäischen Union zu sprechen. Die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika ist natürlich ein Modell für die Europäische Union, und damit bekommen die Europäer die Möglichkeit aus den Fehlern und den Erfahrungen der Amerikaner zu lernen. Auf der anderen Seite, weil Europa sich doch sehr stark von Amerika unterscheidet, werden ein paar Probleme entstehen.

Die jetzige Situation der Europäischen Union aus meiner Perspektive als Amerikanerin kann in drei Gruppen geteilt werden: Menschen, Wirtschaft und Politik. ...

- Beispiel 5

Die Europäische Union und die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika—ein Modell?

Meine Damen und Herren, es freut mich sehr hier heute zu sein. Als der Botschafter für den Verienigten Staaten, kann ich sagen, dass mein Land immer dankbar für Gesllschaften wie diese, für Deutsch-amerkianische Beziehungen, ist. Gute Kommunikation ist alles in unsere Welt.

Heute will ich zu dem Thema, "Ist die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika ein Modell für die EU?" sprechen. Seit fünfzig Jahren—nein, seit vielen Jahrhunderten—träumt Europa über eine Union, und jetzt sehen wir der Anfang von einer Realität. ...

- Beispiel 6

Wendepunkt für Europa

Europa findet sich jetzt auf einen Wendepunkt. Jahrhunderten der Nationalität, der Unwissenheit, und des Krieges, haben den Kontinent zerstört, zersplittert, und zermürbert. Heute haben die Europäer aber vielleicht wie nie zuvor eine starke Hoffnung auf einer friedlichen Zukunft. Diese Hoffnung nie wieder Krieg zu führen ist nicht nur dumme Romantik. Sie besteht stattdessen aus dem Glaube, dass die Geschichte Europas zu grausam zu wiederholen ist und, dass die Führer der Europäern das verstehen und auch dafür sorgen werden, dass die Zukunft besser als die Vergangenheit sein wird. Es ist jetzt endlich die Pflicht der Führer, die Völker tatsächlich zu führen, und ihre Hoffnungen zu Realitäten zu machen.

Ein friedliche Europa ist also das Ziel. Wie genau wir diese Ziel erreichen sollen ist natürlich die Frage.

- Beispiel 7

Die Europäische Union und die Gründung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika—ein Model?

Jetzt bin ich der Meinung, dass Heute eine sehr wichtige Zeit für Europa ist. Ich bin dieser Meinung weil Europa so viel kürzlich zusammen gewechselt hat. Europa war immer eine geteilte Kontinent in großen Zügen. Europa hatte immer stärke Trennungen, z.B. zwischen Römer und Germane, katholisch und orthodox und evangelisch, oder zwischen Kommunismus und Kapitalismus. Aber jetzt sind diese Schranke kleiner geworden weil die europäische Länder alle eine bemerkbar Beitrittslust auf der EU haben.

- Beispiel 8

Die Europäische Union und die Vereinigten Staaten: Mögliche Vergleiche und Lehren

Am Morgan fängt ein Gipfeltreffen an, in das die Führer der Mitgliedsstaaten der Europäischen Union in Copenhagen treffen. Während das Gipfeltreffen, das um zwei Tag zu dauern erwartet wird, wollen die Führer zehn neuen Staaten, die Polen, Tschechische Republik, Ungarn, Slowakei, Slowenien, Litauen, Lettland, Estland, Zypern und Malta sind, hereinbitten. Die Einladungen sind der historisch erst Schritt in die Erweiterung der EU.

Wie die Führer in Copenhagen treffen, bleiben viele Fragen von der Zukunft des Europas unbeantwortet. Wo geht Europa?

Appendix 4

Unedited Opening Paragraph of Student Writing In Response to the Above Assignment

(Underlined sections realize speaker awareness of the genre "Invited public speech")

(Translation)

Note: Throughout these excerpts, morphosyntactic variety and accuracy are at a level that allows the learners' performances to be taken as advanced. The translation does not capture all aspects of non-standard language use, but does reflect some awkward lexical choices or word order phenomena.

- Sample 1

The European Union and the United States: Possible Comparisons and Lessons

Many thanks for the invitation. I intend today to present before the Society for German-American relations here in Weimar my position on the topic "The European Union and the founding of the United States—a model?" I express the hope that this statement on my part will both illuminate this interesting topic as well as strengthen our historically deep friendship.

To begin with I would like to describe the current situation in Europe in my eyes,—the eyes of the USA . . .

- Sample 2

The European Union and the Founding of the United States of America—a Model?

Dear members of the audience, many thanks for the invitation. I am delighted to be able to sit together with you in order to offer some considerations about the future of the European Union in relation to the founding of the United States of America. Nowadays many people are wondering what the EU will look like in ten years or perhaps also in decades. The question arises: is it appropriate to use the changes in America related to its foundational history as a model for the changes for today and into the future within the EU? I will venture to offer to you some considerations in order to spark a discussion by describing the current situation from an American perspective, by drawing some comparisons between the EU and America, and by concluding with some recommendations and hopes with regard to the future development of Europe . . .

- Sample 3

The European Union and the Founding of the United States of America—a Model?

Many thanks for the invitation. The opportunity for me as an American woman to offer my opinions with regard to the question of the founding of America as a guiding image for the European Union is a privileged honor. From an American perspective the radically and fundamentally changed Europe stands at the threshold of political and economic integration. With the introduction of the Euro whose linking offers both great opportunities as well as equally great risks for the EU, Europeans have undertaken the first economic step forward. But the EU needs a political counterbalance for this economic act, which will not only support a complex frame for the politicization and parliamentarization of the EU but will also offer a common identity for European citizens.

Despite important gradations there exist several impressive areas with regard to a comparability of both instances of nation-founding. In my opinion . . .

- Sample 4 (No title)

Ladies and gentlemen, thanks for today's invitation I am delighted to be here at the Society for German-American relations in Weimar. I was invited to speak about commonalities between America and the European Union. Of course, the founding of the United State is a model for the European Union and with that Europeans gain the possibility of learning from the mistakes and the experiences of Americans. On the other hand, because Europe is also rather different from America, some problems will arise.

From my perspective as an American woman, the current situation of the European Union can be divided into three groups: people, the economy, and politics . . .

- Sample 5

The European Union and the Founding of the United States of America—a Model?

Ladies and gentelemn, I am delighted to be here today. As the Ambassador for the United States I can say that my country is always grateful for societies like this one for German-American relations. Good communication is everything in our world.

Today I would like to speak to you on the topic "Is the founding of the United States of America a model for the EU?" For the past fifty years—no, for many centuries—Europe has been dreaming about a union and now we can see the beginning of a reality . . .

- Sample 6

Turning point for Europe

Europe now finds itself at a turning point. Centuries of nationality, of ignorance and of the war have destroyed, split up and worn down this continent. But perhaps today Europeans as never before have a strong hope for a peaceful future. This hope never to wage war again is not only a silly romanticism. Instead it consists of the belief that the history of Europe is too cruel to be repeated and that the leaders of the Europeans understand that and will take care that the future will be better than the past. At long last it is now the duty of the leaders to actually lead the peoples and to turn their hopes into realities.

A peaceful Europe is, then, the goal. How exactly we are to reach this goal is, of course, the question.

- Sample 7

The European Union and the Founding of the United States of America—a Model?

Now I am of the opinion that today is a very important time for Europe. I have this opinion because Europe recently has so much together changed. Europe was always a divided continent in large measure. Europe always had strong division, e.g., between Romans and Germanic tribes, Catholic and Orthodox and Protestant, or between communism and capitalism. But now these barriers have become smaller because the European countries all have a remarkable interest in joining.

- Sample 8

The European Union and the United States of America: Possible Comparisons and Lessons

In the morning a summit meeting will take place in which the leaders of the member states of the European Union will meet in Copenhagen. During the summit which is expected to last about two days the leaders want to invite in ten new states, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Cyprus, and Malta. The invitations are the historic first step in the expansion of the EU.

As the leaders meet in Copenhagen many questions of the future of Europe remain unanswered. Where goes Europe?

Appendix 5

End of Curricular Level Expected Writing Performance Profiles

Note: The entire undergraduate curriculum is divided into five curricular levels.

Level I Performance Profile

At the end of Level I students are able to perform short writing tasks that reflect their emerging ability to tailor their use of the German language to audience, intention, and theme/topic. Among the key functions performed in their writing is

- seeking and providing information pertaining to daily life (often on the basis of other written or oral information);
- describing their personal and physical circumstances as well as that of persons known to them;
- referring to different events and places.

They are able to use the major patterns of German simple sentences that have such constituents as actor, goal, time, place, and also show an awareness of the larger context of a discourse by using varied word order arrangements and by exploring the possibilities of complex syntax. They can signal different levels of formality and informality in the use of German. In terms of accuracy, students' emphasis is on word order, on the order of major syntactic constituents, and on the verbal paradigm, less so on the internal correctness of all aspects of the nominal paradigm (adjectives, case, gender, plural) although these must obviously be attended to. Some students attempt a greater range of syntactic patterns within the simplex sentence and reach into compound sentences. This enables them to signal a beginning awareness of the relationship between syntactic arrangements within a sentence and a larger discourse context. Such choices are good indicators of an emerging basic fluency in writing.

Level II Performance Profile

Within the central genre of this level, the story, students take a personally experiential and process perspective, most frequently in straightforward chronological sequencing.

In order to accomplish this, students plan language beyond the clause and sentence level, extending their writing into simple narratives and descriptions, and even basic expressions of opinion and/or position. Organization of their writing and their specific language use shows sensitivity to the nature of audience (what the audience does or does not know, what it might need or want to know), locates the writer as author, and marks the writer's general communicative intentions (e.g., to tell a story, entertain, describe, inform, express an opinion, make a recommendation). As a result students are able to create basic coherent and cohesive texts with clear paragraph structure, as contrasted with merely stringing together individual sentences. For this level, their performance is the more persuasive the more they are able to handle the verbal paradigm in a fashion that allows them to mark actors, events, times, and the relationships among them unambiguously.

Accuracy focus lies on the sentence level and below the sentence level, in terms of syntactic constituents and word order. At the word level, students focus on the inflectional morphology of gender, case (including prepositions) number, tense, realis/irrealis, marking these features in a generally comprehensible way.

Level III Performance Profile

Students' writing shows noticeable facility with handling various forms of narration, now made more complex in terms of (1) various forms of sequencing and position of the author/narrator and various actors in events; (2) more frequent use of complex syntax in those narrations; and (3) beginning use of other ways of organizing information, e.g., more extended description, comparison and contrast, stating opinions, providing an evaluation and opinion.

This is manifested mostly by diverse markers of cohesion and coherence throughout the system (grammar, lexicon), of author position, intention, stance and some audience awareness. While these characteristics of student writing do not amount to major register shifts or fully elaborated public genres, they do make the crucial link from private narratives to public narratives and, in general, more public forms of language use. Sentence-level syntax, while still fragile for some students, is largely in place in terms of major syntactic patterns. At the same time, morphological inaccuracies persist, particularly in terms of noun gender and plural formation and various modifications, particularly in the adjective paradigm. Subject-verb agreement continues to require attention, as do passive and relative clause construction.

*Level IV (*Text in Context*) Performance Profile*

At the end of the course students are working in the two primary and complementary modes of constructing experience and giving meaning to it, the personal, often narrative, and the increasingly objectified and even abstract treatment of people, places, and events, now seen as problems, issues, decision-making spaces, instances of individual and societal judgments. Although this facility will continue to evolve over many years, students show a robust basic awareness of the appropriateness of one or the other form of perspective-taking and textual organization, in line with the nature of the writing task/genre. As a consequence, writing now shows considerable variation in accordance with task, genre, register, audience, and author intention. Increasingly, author voice and individuality of expression emerge from this process.

The major textual organization as guided by the genre and task is readily identifiable. That is, an argument is broken down into major episodes that instantiate a major organizational pattern, as well as into subsidiary patterns. Both are expanded and supported by diverse textual passages (e.g., examples, historical considerations, comparison, summaries). These are well marked through various devices, particularly discourse markers but also through diverse syntactic devices that signal comparison and contrast, summation, continuation of entire textual episodes. Students begin to maintain suitable metaphors, images and semantic and lexical fields throughout an entire text, thus creating rich forms of coherence and cohesion.

While inaccuracies at the sentence level continue to occur, they increase when students reach for complex forms of shaping their meaning (in content and syntax) and nuanced forms of expression, e.g., through low-frequency language forms and complex lexicogrammatical features that are still being acquired at this level, e.g., play with diverse forms of backgrounding and foregrounding information, comparing and contrasting, author positioning, extended attribute constructions, relative clause modification in complex verbal structures, nuanced forms of the passive, and deliberate shifts in modality to reflect different forms of evidentiality, credibility, likelihood and through various forms of assessment, evaluation, and judgment.

Part Two

Heritage Learners As Advanced Learners

Heritage Language Speakers and Upper-Division Language Instruction: Findings from a Spanish Linguistics Program

Daniel J. Villa

Abstract

Teaching upper-division courses in Spanish linguistics presents a two-pronged dilemma: students entering the courses (1) have had little literacy education in the target language in general and (2) have had little or no familiarity with the science of linguistics in particular. In confronting this situation, the article describes how one collegiate program was able to use to advantage the particular knowledge bases, linguistic and otherwise, that heritage speakers of Spanish can bring to upper division courses in Spanish linguistics. It examines the theoretical underpinnings of heritage language pedagogy, explores applications to the teaching of heritage students in upper division courses, describes the program design of a linguistics program that explicitly draws on heritage students' abilities, and highlights some consequences of the chosen program design. The article also discusses the concept of literacy, particularly how writing in Spanish plays a role in students' ability to develop a critical approach to studying Spanish linguistics.

Introduction

Upper-division Spanish language classes present specific challenges in that the emphasis is on the study of a particular subject matter (often literature, culture, or linguistics), as opposed to the acquisition of the language used for instruction. Students in such classes generally are expected to be able to comprehend, speak, read, and write in a fashion that permits them to concentrate on the topic at hand. However, the many students whose only exposure to the second language has been four semesters of lower division language classes generally do not develop such abilities in that short period of time and face the difficulties of trying to acquire the language while also working on content matter. Further, the question of content matter presents formidable challenges in and of itself, especially in the area of linguistics.

In an article on the status of physical sciences instruction in the United States, David Goodstein likens the pedagogy in that area to a mining operation. He writes:

> A ... realistic way of looking at American science education, as it is now and has long been, is, I suggest, to view it as a mining-and-sorting operation designed to discover and rescue diamonds in the rough, ones capable of being cleaned and cut and polished into glittering gems, just like us, the existing scientists.

> Meanwhile, all the other human rocks and stones are indifferently tossed aside in the course of the operation. Thus, science education at all levels is largely a dreary business, a burden to student and teacher alike— until the happy moment arrives when a teacher-miner finds a potential peer, a real, if not yet gleaming, gem (1995, p. 56).

I have taught a variety of Spanish linguistics courses at New Mexico State University (NMSU), an institution with a significant number of Spanish heritage speakers. NMSU is a "minority majority" university, with minority students actually making up the majority of the student body; as a result, approximately 90 percent of enrollments in the upper division courses in Spanish linguistics consists of students who have had some exposure to Spanish at home and in the community. In working with this student population, I wonder if the mining metaphor introduced above might be applicable to the teaching of linguistics as well. Regarding materials, for example, the few introductory texts in Spanish I have found dive straight into phonology, morphology, syntax, and pragmatics, among other areas, apparently ignoring the fact that students for the most part have had no exposure to this science in their primary and secondary education. Furthermore, there appears to be relatively little discussion in the literature on integrating recent research on pedagogical theory and practice into introducing students to linguistics, particularly in Spanish. As a result, students may be discouraged at the outset of their contact with linguistic studies from further work in this area, with negative consequences for linguistics programs in general and Spanish linguistics programs in particular.

The teaching of Spanish linguistics, then, presents a two-pronged dilemma: one, students' lack of the literacies necessary for success in upper division courses and two, the lack of appropriate materials, curriculum, and pedagogy for Spanish linguistics (I address the notion of "literacy" below). However, the difficulties of developing language use and advancing studies in Spanish linguistics are not insurmountable. In this essay, I present one program's strategies for resolving such issues (to the extent that they can be solved), with the goal of increasing student interest (and enrollment) in upper-division Spanish linguistic studies through a student-centered approach to teaching that benefits from the communicative capabilities heritage Spanish speakers bring to the classroom. At the same time, non-heritage speakers may benefit from the strategies described below; I address this issue in the section titled "Developing Literacies".

Theoretical Bases

The pedagogical theories that underlie teaching establish an important starting point in dealing with the issues presented above. In the field of Spanish heritage language instruction, Paulo Freire's work in pedagogy provides a solid footing for a philosophy of language teaching. While Freire's impact on this field has received considerable attention (e.g., Faltis and DeVillar 1993; Villa 1996, 1997), I reexamine it because previous interpretations, particularly those relying on Spanish (1986) and English (1997) translations, have over time introduced readings not found in the original Portuguese text (1970). In particular, I will revisit here a central concept of Freirian pedagogy, that of the "banking" system of instruction.

Regarding how a pedagogical system may conceive learners, one approach is to consider them empty receptacles to be filled with unprocessed knowledge. In discussing this type of system, Freire employs a "container metaphor" to refer to learners (for a detailed discussion of the use of metaphors in everyday communication, see Lakoff and

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Johnson 1980) and identifies the entire approach as a "banking" means of teaching. In such a "bank metaphor", the bank/learner may be thought of as vault or piggybank containing money/knowledge. Just like the vault/piggybank never receives interest, students do not benefit from the knowledge they store, even though they may be able to categorize or order it. Moreover, students represent a public excluded from activities such as the setting of interest rates, the approval of credit cards or loans, the distribution of profits, and the determination of equitable uses of capital. The result is a system in which a few, the "bankers/teachers" control resources/knowledge in a fashion which is manipulated for the benefit of the bank/school system, not for the general public or even the depositors/scholars, those who create knowledge. Learners may acquire something by engaging in, say, rote memorization, but in such a process they are not actively engaged in the *creation* of knowledge, which is the aim of a student-centered educational system.

Another crucial point Freire makes has implications for the heritage speaker situation in the United States and, in particular, the language varieties heritage Spanish speakers bring to the classroom. By and large, Spanish heritage speakers employ a kind of rural, working class or "campesino" Spanish, often with a number of recent borrowing from English thrown in. Some scholars consider this "low" Spanish, unsuited for academic purposes. For example, Valdés and Geoffrion-Vinci (1998) write

> As might be expected given our previous discussion of class-based language differences, we conjecture that the linguistic repertoires of most ordinary Mexicans who emigrate to the United States are generally made up of mid to low registers of Spanish. This is important to our understanding of the Spanish spoken by Chicano bilingual students, because it is these registers that serve as the models of language as students acquire Spanish in their families and communities (p. 477).

In another instance, Varela (2000: p. 173) states, "La mayoría [de préstamos] pertenece a un bajo nivel de hablantes con poca cultura que no hablan bien ni el inglés ni el español" (The majority [of loanwords] belongs to a low class of speakers with little culture who speak neither English nor Spanish well). Regarding these types of attitudes toward U.S. Spanish, Freire asserts:

> Human existence **cannot be silent** .... To exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Human beings are not built in **silence**, but in **word**, in work, in action-reflection. But while to **say** the true word—which is work, which is praxis—is to transform the world, **saying** that word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of everyone (Freire [1970] 1997, p. 69; bolding added).

Heritage language instruction can look to Freire as an inspiration as it seeks to create an enabling linguistic reality for its learners through a vocal, oral process of saying things. To suggest to students that the way they speak is somehow "incorrect" or "not good enough" is to silence them, to deny them full participation in the educational dynamic. To not only "permit" students to speak in their own voices, but also to encourage them to use those voices, engages them more fully in the learning process. Such an approach recognizes in a very real way how heritage learners, myself included, speak their Spanish, how they, quite literally, name their world. It also reflects the linguistic reality that the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic structures the heritage speakers bring to the classroom consist of the usual and expected variations found within the wide range of societally embedded possibilities in what Otheguy (1991) refers to as "General Spanish".

More specifically, heritage Spanish represents what Gee (1998) calls a "primary discourse", the oral mode of a language as used by members of a certain linguistic group. Regarding English, and referring to Labov's work, he notes that "So-called 'Black Vernacular English' is, on structural grounds, only trivially different from standard English by the norms of linguists accustomed to dialect differences around the world. ... [t]hese children [who speak it] use language, behavior, values and beliefs to give a different shape to their experience" (1998, p. 56). Heritage Spanish can also be viewed in this light; how students speak does not present an issue due to the trivial differences between their variety of Spanish and others. True, their heritage language gives a different shape to their academic and non-academic experience, to borrow Gee's words, but as I have pointed out elsewhere (Villa 1996) it also serves as an excellent bridge to developing secondary discourses, those presented in academic settings. Heritage Spanish serves them well in academia, and will continue to do so after graduation. I return to this point below.

Program Goals

A general aim of the Spanish program at NMSU focuses on creating a greater understanding of the multicultural and increasingly international world we inhabit. While the official program description does not detail this general goal, faculty members have published programmatic goals in professional venues (see e.g., Rodríguez Pino and Villa 1994; Villa 1996, 1997, 2002). Among these is the fostering of what Heath terms "literate behaviors"; she writes:

> . . . being literate goes beyond having literacy skills that enable one to disconnect from the interpretation or production of a text as a whole, discrete elements, such as letters, graphemes, words, grammar rules, main ideas, and topic sentences. The sense of being literate derives from the ability to exhibit literate behaviors. Through these, individuals can compare, sequence, argue with, interpret and create extended chunks of spoken and written language in response to a written text in which communication, reflection, and interpretation are grounded (1991, p. 3).

This definition of literacy underscores the importance of the review of Freirean theory presented above. While terminology certainly differs, the overarching goal of engaging students in a critical pedagogy, or in developing literacy, remains the same. Communication, reflection, and interpretation represent central abilities a Freirean pedagogy aims to cultivate. We present students with written as well as oral texts for them to compare, sequence, argue with, and interpret, to use Heath's words, in order that they create extended chunks of spoken and written language.

Concretely, this means engaging students in a pedagogical interaction which will benefit them both professionally and in their personal lives. Regarding the former, I have written elsewhere (Villa 2000) that the single largest Spanish-speaking market in the world for U.S. goods and services lies within the borders of this nation. A recent article in the Spanish newspaper *El País* asserts that the buying power of U.S. citizens of Spanish-speaking descent is roughly equivalent to Spain's gross domestic product (Comas 2003). The majority of our heritage language students therefore will find employment in this economy. We work toward fostering the Spanish language literacies that will serve them in the various fields they will enter by focusing on the literacies that will (re)connect them with their heritage language communities, while extending the discourse capacities they will employ in public realms. Indeed, we consider this affective dimension to be the link to their ability to develop the professional voice they will employ in the future.

In the following section I aim to give a broad picture of the steps we have taken to modify the linguistics program following the tenets above. Brief sketches of particular courses, including their goals, give an idea of its curricular flow.

General Considerations for the Curriculum

A central concern of our curriculum is that students should become knowledgeable about a wide range of aspects pertaining to language use, particularly in areas where such knowledge can enlighten their own language use in a bilingual, even multilingual, environment. Therefore, a key instructional strategy is to provide them with the conceptual tools and the metalanguage that can facilitate discussion about language use in society. In my courses I give no tests in order to determine if the students have memorized those terms, and students always have access to articles, their notes, or to handouts that might enable them to carry out course assignments that involve the use of the metalanguage.

We have considered carefully the order in which we present concepts inasmuch as the vast majority of learners entering upper-division Spanish linguistics courses have no background in the study of that science, neither in Spanish nor in English. Again, most "introductory" linguistics textbooks launch into detailed discussion of areas like phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, creating a mind-boggling array of heretofore unknown concepts. By contrast, our introductory classes examine the social dimensions of language by employing previous studies that students have carried out in culture and society and relating such concepts to their own linguistic reality. Not only does this avoid losing students early on, it enables us to introduce the theoretical concepts and metalanguage needed for advanced studies in linguistics in a fashion that students can own because the issues that are highlighted relate to their situation as heritage speakers who, more often than not, constitute the first generation to attend college.

Example: An Introductory Course, "Spanglish"

To exemplify the above points, let me describe an introductory linguistics course, "Spanglish," which studies a variety of the linguistic dynamics of contact between Spanish and English. Virtually all students are familiar with the term "Spanglish" and inhabit the physical, social, and linguistic environments studied in this course. Many students consider what they speak a broken mishmash of two languages that only serves for talking with friends out on the street and, more important, a Spanish not valued in society. By contrast, the metalanguage used to identify phenomena, such as codeswitching, domain, loanword, register and lexical variation, (respectively *cambio de código*, *dominio*, *préstamo*, *registro*, and *variación léxica*), can lead to a less judgmental understanding of the issues at hand by identifying and acknowledging communicative realities that lead to language use in line with what these students experience day in and day out. In other words, the "broken mishmash" is now interpreted and viewed through the lens of societal and linguistic principles and theories that offer a context for understanding the relation between language and society and its consequences for language use and identity creation.

The research area of language loss forms another important component of this introductory course. Some heritage language students enter the upper-division linguistics courses fluent in Spanish. However, many others have experienced language loss: they understand the language but have extremely limited productive capabilities (for research on the loss of Spanish in the United States, see e.g., Bills 1989; Bills et al. 1995, 2000; López 1978; Pease-Álvarez 1993; Rivera-Mills, 2001; Solé 1990; and Veltman 1988). This may well carry a stigma of the "what, you're (Mexican, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Hispanic, Latino, fill in the blank) and you don't speak Spanish?!" type. The study of language loss strives to illustrate that (1) this area is of vital interest in linguistic studies and has produced a body of research literature dedicated to it, (2) such loss represents an unfortunate reality of Spanish/English contact in the United States, and does not imply some sort of moral failure, and (3) such loss need not be permanent inasmuch as individuals can reacquire their heritage language and learn to communicate in Spanish with family and community, in professional settings, as well as in the classroom.

In sum, the introductory courses, including Spanglish, aim to introduce a scientific study of language by connecting it with the reality of the linguistic environment students inhabit. We accomplish this by embedding formal features of language and language study within the students' communicative realities. This approach readily enables us to include "traditional" topics such as the history of the language, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, thereby laying the foundation for advanced upper-division courses where students will formalize their knowledge of linguistic concepts and metalanguage and will tackle the more technical aspects of linguistics.

Curricular Progression

As noted above, a detailed description of the entire upper division linguistics curriculum falls well outside the scope of this article. However, in order to convey an idea of the flow of the courses, I briefly describe the goals of the courses regularly offered in our linguistics curriculum.

Introductory courses (300 level) introduce students to linguistic metalanguage and theory within their thematic foci:

- *Introduction to Spanish Linguistics*: An overview of the variety of topics studied in detail in NMSU's Spanish linguistics program, focusing on sociolinguistic studies of language.
- *Spanish in Social Contexts*: The study of language use as related to social class, gender, generation, geographic region, and economic factors, among other variables.
- *Spanglish: Spanish/English Contact in the United States*: An introduction to such concepts as code-switching, lexical borrowing, bilingualism, and language loss, as related to students' linguistic reality in a bilingual region.

Advanced courses (400 level):

- *Topics in Applied Spanish Linguistics*: A course designed to examine various fields of linguistic studies on a rotating basis, focusing more closely on the "nuts and bolts" of the science of linguistics. Recent topics include phonology, demography of Spanish speakers in the United States and globally, linguistic research methodology, and language change.
- *Spanish on the U.S.-Mexico Border*: A study of the intense zone of contact between Spanish and English in an area that extends some 40 miles to the north and south of the U.S.-Mexico border. Both sociolinguistic and linguistic analyses

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are employed, to understand better both the social dynamics of this contact region and the structural impact on Spanish that language contact creates.

- *History of the Spanish Language*: An examination of the development of Spanish from spoken Latin, studying not only phonological changes but also morphological, syntactic, and semantic developments.
- *Structure of Spanish*: Focus on such issues as Spanish phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, among other topics. This course might be considered the "traditional" approach to teaching linguistics in that an important goal is to present linguists' tools of the trade.
- *Spanish in the Southwest/United States*: A study of the dynamics of the Spanish speaking communities in the United States, both in immediate geographic regions as well as across the country. Demographic data from the latest U.S. Census, articles from popular sources, both print and electronic, and academic publications on the dynamics of lexical creation and semantic extension constitute the materials chosen for the class.

These courses represent a solid core of linguistics studies aimed at developing students' oral and written literacies in the study of their mother tongue. Because we are not training a cadre of future linguists but students who will enter careers in the legal system, in education, community service, marketing, or business administration, the program primarily aims to meet their needs. To them, the study of linguistics represents a means of better understanding the linguistic challenges they all will face in their future careers and that society in general must confront. If in the process a student decides to become a professional linguist, we would naturally be gratified.

Developing Literacies

Up to this point this essay has been focused on programmatic issues. I would like now to examine how the heritage language learners themselves stand to benefit from such a program. A common question that arises when working with heritage language speakers is "Well, if we're not going to teach them how to speak Spanish, what will we teach them?" As noted above, not all heritage language students enter upper-division courses with a firm grasp of the spoken language. For those students, the classes represent a chance to develop their spoken Spanish in an environment that supports the variety or varieties of Spanish they have been exposed to. There is no discontinuity between in-class Spanish and the community's variety. While we may study differences between certain regions or certain registers of the language, no one particular variety is imposed as the "standard". I do not discourage the use of English for those students who are in the process of re-acquiring Spanish as it would inhibit their full participation in the course, with the distinct possibility of discouraging them from further studies in upper-division Spanish linguistics. However, the spoken language is modeled both by the instructor and more fluent students, resulting in the creation of a language-rich environment that exposes less fluent students to heritage Spanish as used for academic purposes.

Writing represents one area in which virtually all learners have little previous education, regardless of their control of spoken Spanish. This results from the fact that the majority of bilingual programs to date have focused on how to integrate Spanish speakers into mainstream English language instruction, with no emphasis on developing or maintaining the mother tongue. (Dual language programs represent a notable exception to this tendency.) In order to develop literacy in this area, I emphasize the use of writing in all upper-division courses.

At the 300-level, students compose all their topical analyses in short, five-hundred word essays distributed over the duration of the semester. These are not "think pieces", but rather represent the integration of theory into the students' linguistic reality. For example, after in-class discussions on the concept of prototypical categorization, students apply this to some "real world" category, demonstrating through the written word their grasp of this particular topic. At the end of a 300-level course, a student will have completed fifteen to twenty pages of revised text. This serves as a preparation for 400-level courses, in which students complete more traditional research papers of a similar length, plus bibliography and other end materials. However, at the advanced levels I follow the same approach to writing: text produced in short segments over an entire semester. I assign writing in "chunks", as Heath (1991) calls them, for two reasons. One is that the amount of writing required represents an achievable task, one that appears to produce little negative affective reactions on the learners' part. The second is that having short texts turned in on a regular basis allows the instructor to return feedback on the writing in a timely fashion, on form but particularly on content.

Perhaps the most important aspect in the approach toward upper-division classes outlined in this essay is the development of critical thinking, or again, literacy, in Heath's terms. In working toward a more profound grasp of linguistics, I ask students to consider both their attitudes as well as those of others toward the students' heritage language varieties. Classes in the structure of the language attempt to detail the linguistic complexity of students' heritage Spanish, those in sociolinguistics explore the impact of society on language use. All courses strive toward providing the means for students to critically examine their linguistic environments, why it is other Spanish speakers may criticize the way they speak, why it is that certain organizations, such as U.S. English (http://www.us-english.org), seek to establish English as the only official language of this nation's government at the expense of their heritage variety. At the same time, we also study nascent positive changes in the social and economic status of Spanish, both on the world stage and in the United States (Villa 2000; Comas 2003).

The written form of the language creates an environment conducive to this critical reflection. In analyzing text such as that found at the U.S. English site, writers can revise their own writing until they are satisfied with its content. In doing so, they "compare, sequence, argue with, interpret and create extended chunks of . . . written language in response to a written text in which communication, reflection, and interpretation are grounded," as Heath (1991, p. 3) suggests. If the spoken language presents communicative challenges to some students, the written form represents an opportunity to use the heritage tongue in an iterative manner, returning to the same chunk of writing a number of times, which encourages the development of both literacy and writing techniques.

In closing this section, I note that the program does not exclude students who have learned Spanish as a second language in the classroom. The in-class dialogues expose second language learners to authentic language use, and the cooperative, interactive nature with heritage speakers supports second language acquisition. It may be the case that, given these students' intense initial exposure to the written form of the language, they can help more orally fluent Spanish speakers with the details of writing techniques, such as orthography and the use of written diacritics.

Respecting all students' right to participate in in-class dialogues, even using English, also supports second language learners in upper-division classes. The development of critical thought is not, of course, dependent on the particular language one speaks. If a student's oral literacy in Spanish does not permit him or her to create an extended chunk of oral text in the classroom, the ability to participate in in-class dialogues through the language available to him or her encourages working toward an understanding of the topic at hand, whatever it might be. At the same time, such students are exposed to the target language as modeled by the instructor and more fluent students, which extends to them the opportunity to participate in a language-rich environment that can support their acquisition of verbal literacy, particularly in a variety or varieties of Spanish common to one of the largest Spanish speaking countries in the world, the United States.

Finally, because non-heritage language students have also successfully completed their studies in Spanish linguistics at NMSU (graduating with a degree in Spanish), it may well be the case that the curriculum design and pedagogical methods chosen support both the second language learner as well as the heritage language student. The benefits of such an encompassing approach will become clearer in the future as language programs begin to reassess and modify their curriculum in Spanish linguistics.

Outcomes Assessment

Precisely what students carry with them from this linguistics program is difficult to measure. At this point the Spanish linguistics program has not carried out formal language-focused outcomes assessments, such as those detailed in Byrnes (2002). Regarding benefits to the program, I mention the following forms of evidence for what I claim above. First, enrollments in upper-division linguistics courses are strong. Over the last decade, not a single Spanish linguistics course has been cancelled due to lack of enrollment. This includes even the advanced upper-division classes that involve working with advanced linguistic concepts. Last summer, for example, a class on the structure of Spanish, covering phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics, capped at thirty students, had a total enrollment of thirty-five students. Second, a high level of interest is helpful when the department wishes to implement new courses (e.g., Spanglish), leading to a more dynamic curriculum that meets students' instructional needs beyond "traditional" core courses. Third, the number of majors in the department has grown over the last eight years or so, from around 40 to about 200 majors or double majors, a trend undoubtedly supported by the strong interest in the Spanish linguistics program. In these times of ever-increasing tightening of educational budgets, this type of growth justifies a program's substantial continued funding.

The development of a well-defined, overarching coordinated set of outcome assessments for students enrolled in the program described here remains a task to be addressed. Currently students are assessed by individual instructors based on criteria such as the ability to demonstrate the grasp of key concepts as expressed in written texts. However, post-graduation outcome assessment is beginning to take shape, suggested by an unsolicited e-mail I received from a former student. He wrote:

> ... I was a student of yours back in the mid nineties (at NMSU) (I can't remember exactly which year.) Anyhow... I graduated with a BA degree majoring in Government (1995) and have now been working with the State of New Mexico (District Attorney's) for approximately four years. During this time I have used my Spanish speaking background to explain the justice system to non-English speaking people. After taking your class, I realized how important it is to speak and write formal Spanish and understand the language better.

Not only did this former student find that his language studies serve him on the job, he has received promotions and salary increases due to his (heritage language) bilingualism. Other former students report similar experiences. A successful local podiatrist reports that his heritage Spanish is especially useful in dealing with his patients, many of whom are much more comfortable speaking Spanish than English; a schoolteacher notes that her heritage language forms an important affective bond between her and her seventh grade students. While these individuals have identified an instrumental dimension to their heritage language, others find different values for their Spanish. Two engineers rarely employ Spanish on the job. But one does unpaid community service work, going to public schools to give presentations on his discipline and his company, and for both Spanish remains an important tie to families, friends, and their communities, demonstrating a high affective as opposed to instrumental value.

Conclusion

I hold that the Spanish language variety a student brings to the academic study of the language serves that student well both in academia and in the community (Villa 1996, 1997, 2002). Regarding heritage language students' ability to succeed in advanced courses in a challenging academic field of studies, linguistics, I hope to have suggested this can indeed be the case, particularly when heritage language programs see themselves as dynamic and able to change to support their students. Byrnes (2002) underscores the necessity of such fundamental programmatic changes in general when she writes, "The ability of an entire educational unit to change its practices is urgently called for as US collegiate FL [foreign language] programs are challenged to reshape their educational contexts" (419). The same applies to heritage language programs. Demographic trends as recorded by the U.S. Census over the last thirty years clearly indicate that collegiate programs will serve an increasing number of Spanish heritage language students throughout this century. Moreover, the heritage language population is by no means homogeneous; if those of Mexican descent remain a majority, increasing numbers are of Central American or Caribbean ancestry.

For that reason, programmatic changes based on sound pedagogical theory and empirical research will remain an important part in the continued development of upper-division language curricula in general, and for Spanish linguistics in particular. A Freirean pedagogical approach is well-suited for devising both curricula and pedagogies for this population. Attention to students' educational backgrounds remains especially important in designing a linguistics curriculum and can strengthen a linguistics program's presence in a language department. Finally, much greater attention needs to be paid to developing outcomes assessments for the field in general if heritage language programs are to gain the kind of public recognition they deserve.

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Heritage Speakers' Potential for High-Level Language Proficiency

Olga Kagan and Kathleen Dillon

Abstract

The paper examines the conditions under which heritage students of Russian might achieve advanced or higher proficiency within an undergraduate program. While the research reports on the needs of Russian heritage speakers, its conclusions are relevant for curriculum development in other less commonly taught languages. The proposed matrix for a heritage program in Russian includes the following components: proper placement; a multi-year sequence in an uninterrupted, comprehensive curriculum; heritage learner-specific instructional materials; instructors trained in heritage language acquisition; a home/community native speaker environment; and a metalinguistic framework that raises awareness of the importance of grammatical accuracy and register. In discussing this matrix we analyze the prevailing/traditional attitudes of the teaching profession towards heritage learners and provide information about a number of studies that have suggested the proposed matrix.

Introduction

College and university foreign language departments do not typically produce students at the Superior level of proficiency,[1] even in the more commonly taught languages (Brecht and Ingold 1998; Brecht and Rivers 2000; Campbell 1996; Campbell and Peyton 1998; Campbell and Rosenthal 2000). Indeed, even Advanced language proficiency is not commonly attained. Thompson (2000, p. 273) provides the results of OPI interviews with college students and concludes "students who had studied Russian for three years had a median score that lay between IM (Intermediate-Mid) and IH (Intermediate-High)."

Leaver and Shekhtman (2002, p. 7) identify deterrents to attaining Superior proficiency in each teaching approach used in the United States over the past fifty years. According to their analysis, lack of cultural context and emphasis on language *usage* (i.e., form) rather than language *use* are deficiencies of the grammar-translation approach. Structural approaches do not promote interaction in authentic and unanticipated situations. Communicative approaches underplay precision; they offer an effective avenue to fluidity, but sometimes do so at the cost of the accuracy required for the attainment of Superior proficiency. The same arguments can be made to explain why students do not attain Advanced proficiency.

While not disagreeing with this assessment, we argue that colleges and universities fail to produce students with Advanced proficiency or above primarily because of the limited time on task available even in a rigorous program. An English-speaking student in a college foreign language (FL) program never reaches the number of hours needed to achieve Advanced proficiency in a language like Russian, which, according to a well-known study (Liskin-Gasparro 1982), is between 700 and 1300 contact hours. In college Russian programs, for example, it is rare to offer even 600 contact hours (assuming five hours of Russian a week for four years). While some students reach Advanced level proficiency in Russian by adding summer programs and in-country sojourns to their classroom experience, such students are exceptional/few (Brecht, Caemmerer, and Walton 1995).

Advanced proficiency is most likely to be attained by learners who begin college-level language courses at the Intermediate level or higher and who are enrolled in particularly efficacious programs. Because few high schools in the United States offer Russian, the only sizable group of first-year students with Russian language proficiency is heritage learners (HLs) who have had eighteen or more years of exposure to the language in their homes and communities.

The term "heritage learner" has long been in use in Canada, and has also come to be widely used in the United States since the First Heritage Language Conference at Long Beach, California, in 1999 (Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis 2002). It refers to a student who speaks a language other than English in the home, exclusively or in combination with English, while using English in most other interactions and in all educational settings (see Van Deusen-Scholl forthcoming). Increasingly, language departments view the needs of HLs differently from those of non-heritage speakers or learners (non-HLs), the traditional students of a FL who have acquired the language primarily through classroom instruction. But it has also been shown that HLs who lack classroom exposure to their heritage language cannot be treated as native speakers nor taught with materials intended for native speakers (Roca, Marcos, and Winke 2001; Valdés 2000; Webb and Miller 2000; among others). This is so because most HLs in undergraduate language programs do not possess "academic skills, such as the abilities to hypothesize and persuade, and discourse skills that any educated person in the target culture would have acquired" (Malone et al. 2003).

To address these circumstances and needs of HLs, the matrix we propose for a heritage program in Russian includes the following components:

- Proper placement
- Time on task
- Programmatic rigor
- HL-specific instructional materials
- An uninterrupted, comprehensive curriculum
- Instructors trained in heritage language acquisition
- A multi-year sequence
- A home/community native speaker environment
- A metalinguistic framework: raising awareness of the importance of grammatical accuracy and register

In discussing this matrix we analyze the prevailing/traditional attitudes of the teaching profession towards HLs and provide a number of studies that have suggested the proposed matrix.

Designing an HL Program

Prevailing Attitudes

In developing an HL program language departments must dispel two prevailing notions that interfere with HL attainment of advanced or higher proficiency (University of California Heritage Language Guidelines 2002).The first misconception is that heritage speakers enroll in language classes in the hope of an easy "A" rather than to learn.The second misconception is that heritage speakers without literacy (a term introduced by Yokoyama 2000) should start at the very beginning together with non-HLs who have never been exposed to the language.A more recent and more enlightened view concludes that (a) HLs are legitimate learners and (b) HLs and non-HLs need different curricula because of vastly different starting points and background language experience.[2] We hypothesize that if HLs study the language in a focused undergraduate program designed especially for them and taught by instructors trained in HL methodology,[3] they should be able to attain advanced or higher proficiency.

Placement

The most commonly applied definition of "heritage learner" (HL) is too broad to ensure the accurate placement of students into appropriate courses and the development of instructional materials to address their special needs. The population of heritage speakers is often quite heterogeneous for reasons that vary from language to language (cf. Lacorte and Canabal 2003).

For instructional purposes it is necessary to consider at a minimum students' educational background to determine at what stage their first language development was interrupted or superceded by exposure to English. On the basis of our own prior research, we have subdivided Russian HLs into the following groups (Kagan and Dillon 2001):

- Group 1—completed high school in a Russian-speaking country.[4] These learners can be referred to as native or near-native speakers;
- Group 2—attended middle school in a Russian-speaking country;
- Group 3—attended elementary school in a Russian-speaking country;
- Group 4—born in the United States or emigrated at a pre-school age.

Oral Proficiency of Heritage Learners

To validate the claim that HLs enter the undergraduate program at least at the Intermediate level, we describe the results of an oral competency test given to heritage speakers with little to no literacy (Kagan and Friedman forthcoming). Of the eleven students tested, six were either born in the U.S. or immigrated at pre-school age, three students started first grade in a Russian-speaking country, one completed first grade, and one attended elementary school for four years.Thus, all of the students belong to our Groups 3 and 4 (see above).According to the students' self-assessment, confirmed by classroom observations, four students had no literacy, and six could read and write at a basic level, i.e., identify and write Cyrillic letters. However, these students did not know either the spelling rules or grammatical endings that one needs to be literate in Russian.

To test their oral proficiency the students were asked to record themselves on zip disks using PureVoice.They answered questions asked by the tester who also observed their performance. The questions were formulated to solicit responses at the ACTFL

Intermediate/Advanced level of proficiency. For example, students were asked to talk about their families and their typical day (an Intermediate-level task) as well as to compare advantages and disadvantages of a private versus public university (an Advanced-level task). They were also asked to describe two pictures, one of which called for a description and the other for speculation on events that might have taken place prior to the scene shown (i.e., narration). Each student spoke for 20 to 30 minutes, as is typical of an OPI interview. The results were as follows: three students scored Advanced; seven were in the Intermediate range, and one could not be rated because of excessive code mixing. While this group represents only a small sample, the results, combined with teaching experience and observations, suggest that even HLs without literacy display an Intermediate range of oral proficiency at the onset of college study.

Heritage Learners vs. Non-Heritage Learners

Survey of Instructors

Because programs for HLs are placed within foreign language departments (Andrews 2000; Angelelli and Kagan 2002; Gonzales Pino and Pino 2000; Schwartz 2001) and because, as the OPI tests described above demonstrate, most HLs without literacy perform at the I-A level of proficiency, a comparison of these students with foreign language students on the advanced level is warranted. A UCLA study (UCLA Survey of Russian Instructors) funded by the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) in 2001-2002 solicited the expert opinion of college-level teachers of Russian to determine which differences they perceived between HLs and advanced non-HLs, defined in terms of the 1999 revised ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. The survey assumed that teachers' insights would offer information beyond students' error patterns, including suggestions about improvements in programs, psychological issues, and other areas important in language learning. Forty university instructors of Russian responded from across the United States. The respondents were experienced instructors familiar with issues surrounding teaching at the fourth and fifth year levels, as well as the teaching of heritage students.

Respondents indicated the extent of their agreement/disagreement with a series of statements describing features of language knowledge or use considered typically problematic for learners of Russian as a foreign language in advanced courses and also for heritage learners in speaking, writing, and reading/listening. They answered each question twice, once for advanced non-heritage speakers and the second time for heritage speakers. Respondents also stated their views in response to open-ended questions. At the end of the survey, participants were asked to rank the language skill areas that require strengthening to help HLs and non-heritage advanced language learners reach the Superior level of language proficiency. As indicated in Table 1, code mixing and use of borrowings among HLs, a feature typical of HLs of all languages (cf. Andrews 1998; Martin-Jones and Jones 2000; Polinsky 2000; Zemskaja 2001) point clearly to the necessity of a focused effort on vocabulary building in heritage language programs.

Survey of Heritage Learners

In Winter 2003 fifty-six HLs of Russian at UCLA responded to a survey that aimed to determine (a) whether heritage students believe themselves capable of performing high-level professional and academic tasks (Question 1 a-e) and (b) whether they would be willing to study or work in Russia (Question 2 a-d.)

Table 1
Summary of the Instructors' Survey of Learners' Language Skills: Speaking

HL	Non-HL	Both groups
1. Code-switching.	1. Pronunciation deficiencies, including incorrect stress patterns.	1. Inconsistencies in intonation patterns.
2. Mixing vocabulary from incompatible registers and domains.	2. Mistakes in verb conjugation.	2. Inconsistent use of case endings and agreement.
3. The use of borrowings from English.	3. Incorrect use of verbs of motion.	3. Confusion of reflexive/ non-reflexive verbal forms.
	4. Incorrect use of aspect.	4. Limited vocabulary (as compared to that of educated native speakers).
		5. Lack of correlation between words and meaning.
		6. Inappropriate use of set phrases and idioms.
		7. Use of inappropriate register in formal/informal contexts.

As Table 2 shows, the students were divided into four groups according to their educational background. Seven percent of the respondents born outside of Russia or a former Soviet republic or who emigrated at a pre-school age responded that they could write a business letter, compared to 15% of students who went to Russian elementary school for several

Table 2
Results of HL Students' Survey
Question 1: Do you think you could competently do the following in Russian?

Task	Pre-school/ born in U.S. (Group 4) N= 13 (% YES)	Elementary school (Group 3) N= 20 (% YES)	Middle school (Group 2) N= 13 (% YES)	High school (Group 1) N=10 (% YES)	Overall N=56
a) Write business letters	7%	15%	46%	100%	
b) Conduct business or other negotiations	23%	30%	38%	90%	
c) Read texts in social sciences	62%	65%	100%	100%	
d) Read scientific texts	23%	10%	92%	100%	
e) Write term papers	7%	10%	53%	100%	

years, 46% for those who attended middle school, and 100% of students who completed or nearly completed Russian high school.

Twenty three percent of the pre-school group believes that they would be able to conduct business or other negotiations, compared with 30% for the elementary school group, 38% for the middle school group, and 90% for the high school group.

Asked if they can read social science texts, 62% of the pre-school group responded affirmatively, compared with 65% for the elementary school group and 100% for the remaining two groups. The greatest difference among groups pertained to questions on their ability to read scientific texts (Question 1d) and whether they could write term papers, i.e., whether they thought they could produce academic writing (Question 1e). 23% of the pre-school group and 10% of the elementary school group stated that they could read scientific texts, compared with 92% and 100% of the middle school and high school groups, respectively. Seven percent of the pre-school group and 10% of the elementary school group thought that they could write an academic paper in Russian, compared with 53% and 100% of the middle school and high school groups respectively.

Overall, the results of the survey indicate that 50% of the students who attended middle school and 100% of the high school students believed themselves capable of carrying out high-level tasks in contrast to only 7% to 23% of the students who had no or very limited education in Russia (i.e., Group 1). A separate study is needed to identify which of these tasks are most helpful for heritage students whose acquisition of language is naturalistic.

As indicated in Table 3, question 2, asking students about their willingness to study in Russia, is important because many theoreticians and practitioners (e.g., Kubler 2002; Malone et al. 2003) stress that to attain Superior proficiency in a foreign language students need to go abroad for a long period of study.[5] Summer study typically does not produce a measurable gain in proficiency (Davidson 2001). We do not yet know, however, whether the same holds true for HLs who commonly begin language study with Intermediate proficiency. Moreover, study abroad may not be possible for heritage speakers of some languages for political and other reasons. In the case of Russian émigrés, for example, study abroad was impossible until the late 1980's.

In any case, the survey of HLs of Russian indicated that, even though they want to improve their Russian (30% of Group 1 and 86% of Groups 2–4), most would not want to spend significant amounts of time in Russia. Overall, only 25% would consider going to Russia for a year of study and 26% would consider working there, while 48% would be willing to spend a summer there (see Table 3).

Therefore, we propose that an effective, comprehensive on-campus program, with a summer study abroad component, be designed to raise Russian HLs to Advanced or higher proficiency. It is worth exploring whether a summer abroad might lead to a measurable gain for HLs. But even if a gain proves not to be measurable (Davidson 2001), a summer study program may inspire HLs to continue their studies, including spending longer periods of time in their country of origin.

Reconfiguring a Curriculum

A curriculum for HLs requires flexibility to meet the needs of students with varying proficiencies and to address the results of current and future emigration patterns. For example,

Table 3
Results of HL Students' Survey
Question 2: If you wanted to improve your Russian, what steps would you take? Mark as many as you need.

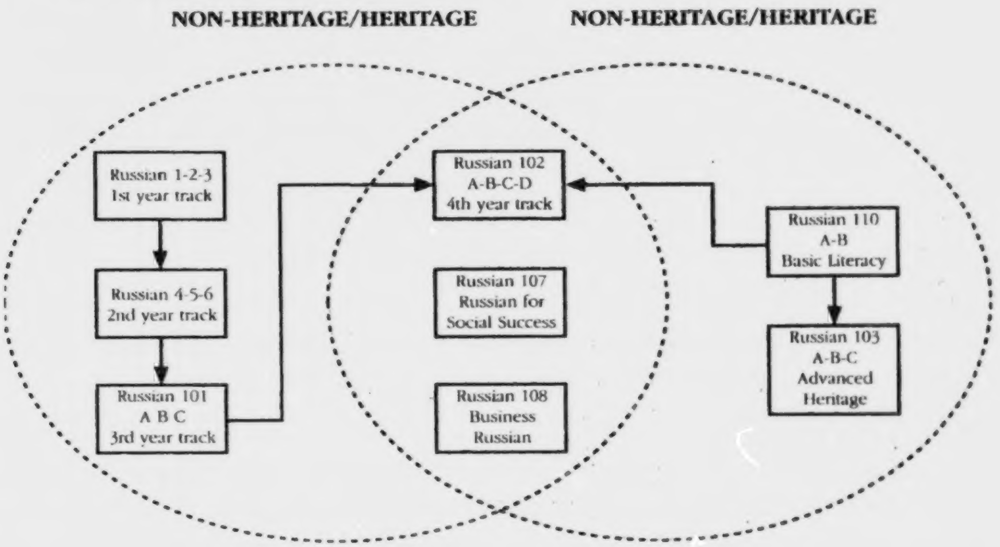
Steps	Pre-school/ born in U.S. (Group 4) N= 13	Elementary school (Group 3) N= 20	Middle school (Group 2) N= 13	High school (Group 1) N=10	Overall N=56
a) Get a job in Russia	30%	35%	20%	40%	26%
b) Spend a year in Russia taking classes	23%	30%	15%	20%	25%
c) Spend a summer in Russia taking classes	61%	55%	20%	40%	48%

since the early 1980s, Russian programs in the United States have seen a steadily increasing number of Russian-speaking students. In the early years, these were students who had completed or almost completed high school in a Russian-speaking country. These earliest HLs were legitimately identified as native speakers of Russian (Bermel and Kagan 2000; Kagan and Dillon 2001) and Russian programs could not offer them meaningful instruction. True to the first notion held by instructors, cited above, these students typically enrolled in Russian classes to earn units and a very easy "A".

As a result of emigration patterns over the past twenty-five years, however, the Russian-speaking student population now comprises a much broader spectrum, ranging across all four of the groups identified above (for detailed studies of Russian immigration see Andrews 1998 and Zemskaja 2001). Now that emigration from Russia and the former USSR has slowed, we can anticipate that over the next five to ten years most Russian heritage students will have been born in the U.S. and therefore, like the students who participated in the proficiency exam described above, will enter our programs with an initial "heritage" proficiency corresponding to Intermediate on the ACTFL scale that is the result of eighteen or more years of exposure to the language but no formal language education.[6]

The Russian program at UCLA was reconfigured between 1998-2001 to serve the needs of heritage students in Groups 1-4. Placement is based on tests of students' competency in reading and writing for those students who are literate. Placement for students without literacy is based on the questionnaire and an oral interview. The placement process also includes a biographical questionnaire (see appendix) that increases the accuracy of placement by providing more individualized information about each student.

Figure 1
UCLA RUSSIAN PROGRAM (2001-2003)


NON-HERITAGE/HERITAGE
NON-HERITAGE/HERITAGE
Russian 1-2-3
1st year track
Russian 4-5-6
2nd year track
Russian 101
A B C
3rd year track
Russian 102
A-B-C-D
4th year track
Russian 107
Russian for
Social Success
Russian 108
Business
Russian
Russian 110
A-B
Basic Literacy
Russian 103
A-B-C
Advanced
Heritage

As illustrated in Figure 1, the program has two basic tracks: a three-year sequence for students of Russian as a foreign language (Russian 1 to Russian 101) and separate classes for heritage students. The track for heritage students starts with two quarters of Basic Literacy (Russian 110A-B). The instructional materials are designed specifically and exclusively for heritage students (Kagan, Akishina and Robin 2002) and build on the foundation that HLs have already acquired in Russian. In two quarters (20 weeks of instruction, 3 hours a week) heritage students cover the same grammar material as non-HL students do over three years of instruction. Whereas non-HL students typically reach Intermediate-Mid oral proficiency in Russian in those three years, HLs do not advance to the next proficiency level, but they do add vocabulary to their repertoire and become more agile with register. Their reading proficiency at the end of two quarters exceeds that of non-heritage learners after three years.

After completing the basic literacy sequence, HL students are advised to take courses in the 103 series, such as "Russian National Identity," "Literature and Film," and "Special Topics," such as "History of the Russian Language." These courses use specific content to teach higher level reading, writing, and discussion skills (see Angelelli and Kagan 2002). Students from Groups 1 and 2 take these classes without going through the literacy sequence. The Russian 103 series is also open to non-HL students who have attained high enough proficiency in all skills. Other courses that are open to both HLs and non-HLs are the fourth year Russian (102) series, and Russian for Social Success (Russian 107-Readings in Social Sciences and Russian 108-Business Russian). The modular nature of the program allows for the flexibility needed for heritage speakers who display a wide range of competencies even within the distinct groups. An underlying assumption of HL programs (still to be validated) is that because the students maintain contact with their home and community environments and because of their whole life experience with the language, they can advance in proficiency with fewer contact hours than non-HL students. The UCLA Russian HL program's objectives are to increase the proficiency of the least competent heritage speakers on a fast track, while providing a challenging and motivating learning experience to speakers from all groups.

An important aspect of the curriculum design is consideration of students' motivations and family community ties. One of the principal motivations for most HL students to study Russian is a desire to read Russian literature (Kagan and Dillon 2001). Russian literature courses taught fully in Russian for high level learners have large enrollments. This aspect of the program, which introduces students to Russian classical prose and poetry, receives vigorous endorsement from parents and grandparents (Zemskaja 2001) and therefore promotes student retention in the program. Even engineering students, a population typically underrepresented in language programs, are enrolling in Russian literature for Russian speakers with enthusiastic parental approval.

Beyond the Proposed Model: Steps toward Superior Proficiency

Even though this volume is concerned with achieving advanced level proficiency, we suggest that HLs who start with at least Intermediate-level proficiency can attain higher than Advanced proficiency at the end of college study.

A good model for instruction to proficiency beyond the Advanced level is that by Kubler (2002). Even though he considers only programs abroad (in China) and stresses that these programs be for FL learners, not HLs, we believe that his paradigm can be adapted to create a high-level program for heritage students in the United States.

Kubler divides the curriculum for high-level programs into three categories. First, he delineates the components of the curriculum that focus on developing aural/oral proficiency:

a) formal vocabulary and grammar
b) exposure to non-interactive listening (radio, film, television)
c) error correction to fight fossilization
d) word study with attention to origins and precision of use
e) attention to the norm most typical of public speaking/business and academic interaction
f) public speaking
g) interpreting
h) language for special purposes

In an on-campus HL program these components must be separated according to the varying degrees of proficiency among the HLs, with (a) through (e) being assigned to the beginning program for HLs at the Intermediate/Advanced level, and (f) through (h) forming the curriculum for students at the Advanced level and beyond.

Reading and writing skills, according to Kubler, are addressed through the following activities:

a) reading newspapers and magazines
b) reading modern literature
c) reading classical literature
d) attention to handwriting
e) developing high level skills in composition
f) translation
g) language for special purposes

In an HL program, students can begin reading newspapers and magazines at the beginning level. In cultures where literature is of major importance students must be exposed to literature at the beginning level as well. Literary texts serve the important purpose of filling lacunae in knowledge and appreciation of the cultural history as well as building vocabulary and exposing students to complex syntactic and rhetorical structures. Translation contributes to students' realization of the value of their bilingualism and can be introduced at the beginning level as oral practice for HLs. Written translation is one of the pillars of instruction throughout an HL program since it is a practical skill with application across disciplines.

The final category in Kubler's program design is curricular structure, which consists of an assortment of integrated activities:

a) tutorials
b) content courses
c) practical assignments that start with classroom preparation, take students into the society, and bring them back into the classroom for debriefing
d) internships (without breaking ties with the classroom)
e) language pledge
f) roommates
g) instructors with content expertise
h) attending university classes in the target country

For HLs, tutorial or individualized/self-paced instruction can constitute an effective approach at the program entry level where skills are the most divergent. However, once students have achieved literacy, they benefit most from the sense of community created in regular classroom instruction and interaction with students at higher levels of proficiency. For most institutions budgetary and staffing constraints obviate the tutorial possibility in any case.

Once HLs have achieved literacy, all their courses can be content-based. Native speaker instructional materials from middle and high school as well as college level must be used extensively. Exposure to input at the highest professional levels of discourse can be accomplished via audio-visual media in addition to text resources. Another valuable resource can be those faculty members whose first language is the target language, in which they may be willing to teach seminars or deliver occasional lectures in their discipline.

Practical assignments of the kind suggested by Kubler (p. 110–112) could take HLs into the business community where the heritage language is spoken. Distance learning opportunities and e-mail pen pal connections could also be explored. A language pledge in the form of abstaining from code switching on campus may be imposed on the HL. If the campus has international students from the heritage country, they could be employed as resident assistants and mentors to provide authenticity of interaction with native speakers.

Conclusion

Research on methods for producing students with Advanced to Superior language proficiency is in its infancy. Consequently, we cannot provide data or evidence to prove that the matrix proposed in this paper would consistently raise HLs to the desired levels of performance. However, the studies presented here and more than ten years of working with HLs both within the confines of a standard FL curriculum and in courses designed specifically for HLs have led us to conclude that all the components of the equation presented are necessary to achieve this important goal.

We are proposing not a "loose aggregation of courses" (Byrnes and Kord 2001), but rather a purposefully designed and assembled curriculum that meets the needs of HLs at their various points of entry and leads them systematically through the stages of development until they have attained proficiency in all four skills and all three communicative modes (interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational [Kagan and Dillon 2001; Valdés 2000]).

The University of California (through a multi-lingual committee of the UC Consortium for Language Learning and Teaching) is also in the preparation stages of an Advanced Proficiency certificate that would set the standards and implement the necessary testing to legitimize claims of both the FL and HL curricula and to encourage students to aim for Advanced High or Superior proficiency.

HL students' enrollment and continuation in programs designed for them and the progress they can make in a short period of time, despite their initial deficiencies in literacy, give us reason to believe that they can, given the right kind of program, reach Superior Proficiency. The widespread lack of success in producing foreign language students with Superior level proficiency suggests that attainment of Superior proficiency in an undergraduate program is not only rare but almost a random event. We propose that for heritage learners at least the attainment of Superior proficiency during the course of undergraduate studies is feasible when language programs are developed expressly for that purpose.

Notes

1. In this paper, the terms "Advanced" and "Superior" correspond to the ACTFL scale of language proficiencies.
2. UCLA received an NEH Focus Grant in 2002-03 to produce a matrix for an HL curriculum. A follow-up grant from the UC Consortium for Language Learning and Teaching will be used to develop on-line teacher training in HL methodology.
3. "Recent large-scale projects carried out by teams of researchers, teachers, and administrators have begun to lay the foundations for programs specifically designed to prepare FL teachers to work more effectively with HL learners" (Lacorte and Canabal 2003).
4. The term "Russian-speaking country" refers to Russia and former Soviet republics. Russian used to be the lingua franca of the region, and most of the emigrants are still highly proficient in Russian, even though the situation has been changing rapidly.
5. Kubler (2002), however, makes an especially compelling argument that emphasizes the rigor of a program abroad, not only its duration.
6. However, the lack of formal education is not characteristic of all heritage languages, as some of them have established community schools. For example, Chinese community schools enroll over 100,000 students; in 1997 there were about 83,000 students enrolled in Chinese community schools. This digest is drawn from *A View from Within: A Case Study of Chinese Heritage Community Language Schools in the United States* (Xueying Wang, Ed.), published by the National Foreign Language Center, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036. See also Compton (2001).

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Appendix

UCLA
Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures
Russian Language Program: Placement Questionnaire

Date ______________________

Name ______________________

Please provide the following information:

1. Place of birth ______________________
2. If foreign born, how old were you when you came to the U.S.? __________
3. If you were born in a Russian-speaking country, how old were you when you left? ____
4. Have you had any instruction in Russian in the U.S. or abroad? __________
4a. Where? ______________________
4b. For how many years? ______________________
5. Do you speak Russian in your daily life (circle one)?
Never Rarely Sometimes Every day
5a. If you do, who do you speak Russian with? __________
6. Rate your own proficiency in Russian from 0 (none) to 5 (fluent)
Listening ____
Speaking ____
Reading ____
Writing ____

PART THREE

Contexts For Advanced Learning

Study Abroad for Advanced Foreign Language Majors: Optimal Duration for Developing Complex Structures[1]

Casilde A. Isabelli

Abstract

SLA research has explored the many benefits of study abroad programs. However, there is limited research that explores syntactic gains made abroad by the advanced learner and addresses the question: How does length of stay abroad affect language acquisition, particularly advanced L2 features? The present study addresses this question from a UG perspective by evaluating 31 advanced learners of Spanish L2 who spent an academic year abroad in Barcelona. The development and acquisition of the properties of the null subject parameter were measured at one month (representing a summer abroad), four months (representing a semester abroad), and nine months (representing an academic year abroad). A discussion follows on some additional factors that need to be considered when sending an advanced language learner on a study abroad program.

Introduction

Every year thousands of North American undergraduate university students enroll in summer, semester, or year-long study-abroad programs from all disciplines. During the 2000/01 academic year 154,168 undergraduate students spent a semester or longer studying abroad (*Open Doors 2002*). Of those studying abroad during the 2000/01 academic year, 12,697 were foreign language majors. It is undeniable that students, professors, administrators, and researchers see study abroad as essential for developing advanced proficiency in a second language (L2).

VanPatten and Lee (1990) described second language acquisition (SLA) as the intersection of three areas. The first area is classroom-based SLA, defined as L2 learning or use that occurs in the target language country. The second area is classroom-based L2 learning, defined as the teaching or learning of an L2 outside of the L2-speaking community. The third one is natural second language learning, defined as learning outside a formal educational context. The authors further argued that untutored natural use of the L2 is essential to acquiring a second language. In foreign language classrooms, students enjoy this benefit only to a limited extent because their L2 input is restricted to three to five hours a week and opportunities for productive use are shared among 15–25 other language learners. To compensate for minimal exposure or lack of natural L2 input and for limited or missing occasions for L2 use, many motivated language learners participate in study abroad programs lasting a summer, a semester, or even a year. Although, ideally, input in a communicative classroom is contextualized, the L2 learner within the target language environment is exposed to greater quantities of such contextualized input. In a study abroad context the L2 learner is exposed to the language as it is spoken by native

L2 speakers, and "the kind and quantity of opportunities for real language use are considerably greater for the L2 learner" (VanPatten 1987b, p. 3).

Once foreign language majors decide to study abroad they need also to determine what length of stay would benefit them most linguistically. To date, there is a lack of empirical studies addressing the question: How does length of stay abroad affect language acquisition, particularly advanced L2 features? Exploring the issue from a universal grammar (UG) perspective, Schwartz (1993) states that grammar building, which leads to L2 acquisition, is based on three fundamental components: access to UG, a learning procedure, and contextualized input. The more contextualized the input is, the better the chance that UG will be triggered. Chomsky (1988) proposed that an innate UG bridges the gap in first language (L1) acquisition (and is extended to L2 acquisition) between the type of input and attained competence (i.e., a complex adult grammar). For instructed learning in particular, this gap is often referred to as the "learnability problem" because of the mismatch between input experienced (poverty of the stimulus) and the language actually acquired by language learners. Exposure to naturalistic and contextualized input abroad helps trigger UG, which then bridges the "learnability problem" gap.

The goal of the present study is to take this broad UG-based conceptualization of learning and apply it to the study abroad context by examining how study abroad contributes to the acquisition of advanced L2 syntactic features with various durations of stay. Thirty-one advanced American learners of Spanish L2 who spent an academic year abroad were evaluated through grammaticality judgment tasks (GJTs) and oral narratives. The development and acquisition of the three clustered properties of the Spanish null subject parameter (within UG), as indicators of advanced L2 abilities, were measured at three specific times: one month (representing a summer abroad), four months (representing a semester abroad), and nine months (representing an academic year abroad).

Study Abroad: Relating Length of Stay and the Development of Advanced L2 Features

The majority of language majors appear to be spending a summer or semester when they choose to study abroad. As Spencer and Hoffa (2002) stated: "The current U.S. approach to study abroad programming is dominated by two conflicting truisms. The first, 'Longer is better than shorter'; the second, 'Something is better than nothing'(p. 1)." Foreign language educators would probably agree that for the purpose of learning the L2, longer is better. Thus, second language acquisition researchers have shown, among other things, the significant gains in language proficiency and in understanding other cultures when compared to stay-at-home students (Dyson 1988; Lafford 1995; Liskin-Gasparro 1984; Lussier, Turner, and Desharnais 1993; Magnan 1986; Milleret 1990). However, there are no empirical studies that directly answer the specific question whether longer stays are better than shorter stays for acquiring advanced L2 features, although the studies of Guntermann (1995), Regan (1995), and Ryan and Lafford (1992) provide useful related information because they have focused on the acquisition of syntactic features in a study abroad context over different time frames (one semester-short, to one year-long).

Guntermann (1995) studied the acquisition of three grammatical contrasts in the forms and functions of Spanish after one year of immersion by L1 English novice/high and intermediate/low L2 learners of Spanish. Data were gathered from oral interviews on the use of copulas *ser* and *estar* 'to be', *por* and *para* 'for', and preterit versus imperfect from nine Peace Corps volunteers after an initial ten-week intensive language program (260–300 hours of formal instruction) in a Central American country and then again at the end of the year in service. Since no pre-study program scores were reported, only linguistic

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development from the tenth week and the end of the year can be discussed. Data showed that after one year of being immersed in the target language environment, participants arrived at a high accuracy rate (95%) for the use of *ser* and *estar*, increasing about 10% from the first data collection time. For the second form studied, data showed an average accuracy of 65% on the use of *por* and *para* after the ten-week program, which increased to 78% after one year. On the differentiation between preterit and imperfect tenses, participants improved from 71% accuracy to 90% accuracy after a year in the Peace Corps. Guntermann compared these results to the 74% accuracy score of stay-at-home language learners with 15 months of instruction (Lafford and Collentine 1989), concluding that the participants in an immersion setting achieved higher ratings on the accurate use of past tense than those who stayed at home.

Regan (1995) analyzed the acquisition of the linguistic aspect of negation by six advanced Irish L2 learners of French during an academic year in France or Brussels. The data for the study consisted of pre-program and post-program oral interviews developed by Labov (1984) that covered topics thought to elicit spontaneous speech which can be expected to show the acquistion of sociolinguistically variable speech. From these oral interviews, Regan analyzed pro-clitic negative particle *ne* deletion that is found in native French speech. The results showed a dramatic rise in the rate of deletion before and after study abroad. Regan suggested that not only was French negation acquired but so was the variable use of negation of native speech norms.

Ryan and Lafford (1992) investigated the impact of the target language environment on the morpheme acquisition order of the Spanish copula *ser* and *estar* 'to be'. Their data consisted of three oral interviews (pre-program, during-program, and post-program) collected from 16 beginning-level American students during a one-semester program to Granada, Spain. The data showed that participants passed through five stages of development. At Stage 1 no copular verb is produced (**Juan alto* 'John tall'). At Stage 2, which lasts the longest of the five stages, *ser* is acquired and overextended into contexts where *estar* is appropriate (*Maria es simpática*. 'Mary is very nice'. **Ella está en Chicago*. 'She is in Chicago'). At Stage 3 the structure *estar* plus the progressive is acquired, followed by Stage 4, the use of *estar* in the context of location. Finally, in Stage 5 the adjectives of condition are acquired with the use of *estar*. Results of the study strongly suggest that after a semester abroad, students seem to have acquired the differences between *ser* and *estar*. The authors also concluded that study abroad language learners acquired the copulas in ways similar to stay-at-home language learners (VanPatten 1987a).

In summary, the studies of Guntermann (1995), Regan (1995), and Ryan and Lafford (1992) suggested that the longer the stay the better for language acquisition. However, three issues deserve closer attention. First, the previous studies concentrated on readily observable surface features of language (*ser/estar* 'to be', *por/para* 'for', negation, and past and conditional tense). These features develop in observable stages since they are readily available in the input and obey some type of distributional frequency. That is, the studies focused on grammatical features that do not represent underlying syntactic competence as UG targets it but constitute observable morphosyntactic features that are specific to a language that simply have to be learned. In any case, they are not considered advanced structures. Second, although the data provide evidence on how beginning and intermediate language learners are developing abroad, nothing is said about aspects of underlying syntactic competence that are not readily observable in the input but that are part of advanced competence. Third, there is a need for research that systematically compares linguistic development of advanced language learners after a summer, a semester, and a year abroad to determine an optimal length of time for a study abroad sojourn. Accordingly, in order to answer the question, "Is longer better than shorter?", the acquisition process of 31 advanced American learners of Spanish L2, who spent an academic year abroad, was evaluated on the development and acquisition of the three clustered properties of the Spanish null subject parameter (within UG) at three specific times: one month, four months, and nine months.

The Study

Linguistic universals fall within the generative grammar framework of UG theory. Chomsky (1981) proposed UG to be an innate knowledge source characterized as consisting of two types of constraints, principles and parameters. This framework postulates a small number of universal principles that limit the types of human grammars found in the world's languages. Because individual languages differ in specific ways, UG leaves room for variation by parameterizing these principles according to a finite set of variations of the principles. A parameter may be responsible for a set of seemingly unrelated surface constructions in a particular language. Dependent on the chosen value of the parameter, these diverse surface features actually create a cluster of properties that is related to that parameter. An example of a parameter with clustered properties is the null subject parameter (NSP) in which languages like English, French, and German must have subjects: 'He speaks' not '*Speaks'. However, subjects are not obligatory in Italian, *Parla,* and Spanish, *Habla.* These null subject languages have a cluster of related syntactic properties that distinguish them from non-null subject languages. According to Chomsky (1981), Jaeggli (1982), and Rizzi (1982), the three clustering properties are a) subject pronouns can be omitted in tensed clauses *Hablo con mis amigos,* 'I speak with my friends'; b) subjects may be postponed after the verb *Han llegado mis estudiantes,* 'My students have arrived'; and c) there are no *that*-trace effect restrictions *¿Quién has dicho que va a venir?* 'Who did you say is coming?'

Like L1 learners, L2 learners receive input that is fed into this blueprint of language (UG). UG interacts with this language and yields an L2 grammar. In the 1980's the NSP was proposed as a way to test whether or not UG is still accessible in second language acquisition because it was not exemplified in the L1 of English and French, yet was present in Spanish and Italian. The aim was to test those subtle effects, precisely because such parametric differences would not be immediately obvious to learners unless they could draw on the operation of UG. Only input data from the linguistic environment can trigger the resetting/restructuring of a parameter. Language learners receive input from the target language, which tells them what is possible in the L2. In turn they internalize this input and ultimately restructure the parameter setting for L2.

The Null Subject Parameter and its Relation to Length of Study Abroad

The NSP has two settings: either a language can drop the subject or not. English is considered to be a morphologically impoverished language because its verbal inflections do not carry sufficient information to indicate person and number of the verb; therefore English, like French, holds the non-NSP ([-NSP]) setting. Both Spanish and Italian, however, have a rich inflectional system that allows the subject to be identified from the verbal inflection and therefore are null subject languages ([+NSP]). For Spanish the three clustered properties of the [+NSP] are thus realized like this:

1. missing overt subject pronouns;
    a. *Hablo español.*
    b. *Speak Spanish.
    c. I speak Spanish.

2. verb-subject inversion in declaratives;
   a. *Durmió el bebé tres horas.*
   b. *Slept the baby three hours.
   c. The baby slept three hours.
3. apparent *that*- trace violations in subordinate clauses.
   a. *¿Quién dice el FBI que asesinó al presidente?*
   b. *Who does the FBI say that assassinated the president?
   c. Who does the FBI say assassinated the president?

If the above first property is the least abstract and most salient, then the last is the most abstract and least salient in the input.[2] Indeed, Isabelli (to appear) revealed that the three properties of the [+NSP] were not acquired simultaneously, but that the most salient was acquired first, followed by the least salient and most abstract.

With that background it is possible to ask: Is there a significant difference on GJT scores and oral narrative tallies on the three structures from students with different durations for study abroad (one to four months and from four to nine months)? Hypothetically, an incremental development from the most salient and least abstract property (null subject) should be seen first, followed by acquisition of the second property (verb-subject inversion), and finally acquisition of the most abstract and least salient in the input (*that*-trace).

Participants

Participants in this study came from a group of 64 native English speakers who were Spanish language learners in the 1997-1998 year-long exchange program to Barcelona, Spain. They were sophomore, junior, and senior undergraduate students from a consortium of two American universities (the University of Illinois and University of California schools), all of whom had taken two years of beginning and intermediate Spanish at the university level (first and second year) before studying abroad. Also, because of the high degree of independence required of students going on the Barcelona program, all potential students were interviewed by a committee of three university faculty to determine their suitability for the program.

Study participants were selected from the pool if (1) their L1 was English; (2) Spanish was not spoken in their home; (3) they had no prior experience of living abroad (more than 6 weeks) in a Spanish-speaking country; and (4) they completed all data collection tests over the nine months. The final participant group consisted of 31 students, 7 male and 24 female, with a mean age of 21 years. Twenty-nine had begun studying Spanish in high school at age 14, and two began studying Spanish in college. Fourteen of the 31 participants had an additional semester of Spanish beyond the required two years before their sojourn abroad: three took Spanish grammar, two took Spanish composition, four took conversation, and five took introductory literature courses.

During the first month of the program all students were enrolled in an Intensive Language Program provided by the *Centro de California/Illinois* at the University of Barcelona (equivalent to four semester units), with classes on Spanish language and culture, Spanish for communication, Spanish conversation and composition, and Catalan language and culture. During the academic year the students enrolled in CORE courses (Art, Advanced Spanish Grammar/Syntax, Business Spanish, Composition, Phonetics, Catalan, Golden Age, Quixote, Literature, and Translation) that were offered only to the American students. The advanced grammar courses presented an in-depth study of aspects of Spanish grammar that non-native speakers find more difficult to master: uses of the indicative and subjunctive moods and tenses; personal pronouns ("loísmo" and "leísmo"); direct and indirect style; accentuation; demonstratives, possessives, and comparatives; *ser* vs.

estar; prepositions and prepositional groups. No aspect of the NSP was explicitly taught; however, the participants were implicitly exposed to the NSP in speech in the natural environment (television, native speakers, radio) and written materials (novels, newspapers). The participants also had the option to enroll in University of Barcelona courses, an opportunity taken by 23 participants.

The participants reported communicating in Spanish when dealing with Spaniards and socializing with non-Americans. For example, through the *Centro de California/Illinois*, six held internships with Spanish businesses, schools, law firms, or hospitals. Two were members of the University of Barcelona's Women's Track and Field team, of which they were the only non-Spaniards. One was a member of a religious organization in Barcelona, which consisted of all Spaniards. Two played musical instruments with Spanish groups, another painted in a studio with Spanish artists, and another was the assistant to a Spanish independent film producer. In addition to immersing themselves in the Spanish community, the participants reported that reading Spanish newspapers, magazines, and novels improved their reading skills. Furthermore, listening to Spanish music, attending religious ceremonies, and watching Spanish television and movies improved listening skills.

Materials

To ascertain the development and acquisition of the three properties of the [+NSP], participants in the study were administered grammaticality judgment tasks (GJT) and an oral interview during the first, fourth, and ninth month of their stay in Spain, where each was given in three versions.

Grammaticality Judgment Tasks. The three versions of the GJT at each data collection were parallel in structure and content. In random order, each version contained 25 target sentences and 25 distractor sentences. The target sentences represented the three properties of the [+NSP]:

1. ten simple sentences in the present tense pertaining to null subjects;
2. five grammatical sentences representing verb-subject inversion; and
3. *that*-trace violations with five grammatical sentences with *wh*-subject extraction from an embedded clause and a filled complementizer position (*que* 'that' present), and five ungrammatical sentences with *wh*-subject extraction with an empty complementizer position.

The 25 target sentences from the first GJT are presented in Appendix 1 (the distractor items are not presented).

Because interlanguage development of the three Spanish [+NSP] properties was being studied, the target items involved grammatical Spanish sentences where comparable English sentences would violate the Spanish [+NSP]. For example, (1) and (2):

1. Soy una chica.
2. **Am a girl.*

As seen in (1), the overt subject referential pronoun in Spanish is optional, whereas in English the lack of subject pronoun is ungrammatical, as seen in (2). Also included in the test items were ungrammatical Spanish sentences that violated the Spanish [+NSP], where in comparable grammatical English sentences the English [-NSP] would not be violated, as seen in (3) and (4).

3. *Lo está lloviendo.
4. *It is raining.*

In English, the expletive pronoun 'it', as seen in (4) is obligatory with weather verbs, whereas in Spanish, (3) their presence creates an ungrammatical sentence.

The Spanish [+NSP] value corresponds to the knowledge that pronominal subjects and verb-subject inversion are optional and that there are apparent violations of the *that*-trace filter when the *wh*-subject is extracted from the subordinate clause. The Spanish [+NSP] value also corresponds to the knowledge that expletive pronouns are ungrammatical.

According to Lightbown and Spada (1999, p. 36), in order to explain the learners' knowledge of syntax, the underlying competence in the learners' performance is analyzed in terms of the competence underlying native-speaker performance. Specifically, a grammaticality judgment test is used as a tool to elicit the L2 learners' metalinguistic inferences on L2 syntactic structures and the L2 linguistic system as a whole. However, the reliability of grammaticality judgment tasks in SLA research has been questioned (Cowan and Hatasa 1994; Gass 1994; Mandell 1999) and also its validity (Cowan and Hatasa 1994; Davies and Kaplan 1998; Ellis 1991; Liceras 1994). Researchers usually conclude that traditional scalar GJT are a poor reflection of the learners' competence, particularly when they are used alone. However, when they are combined with other methods of elicitation, such as oral interviews, and when the naturalistic oral data are included in the final linguistic analysis, they are the most practical and the best measurements for tapping into learners' underlying L2 competence (besides perhaps on-line reaction time tests). This is so because they involve sentences that are generated by the grammar and because learners' responses on GJT are used to determine the stage of their L2 knowledge. Thus, although Birdsong (1989, p. 60) states the danger of drawing conclusions from metalinguistic performance to describe the L2 learners' abstract linguistic competence, researchers find GJT useful as a way of gaining insights into L2 competence.

Oral Interviews. Complementing the GJT data, oral interviews provided naturalistic data for observing the development of the three Spanish [+NSP] properties.

Based on the Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview (SOPI)[3], these interviews can be tailored for a desired level of proficiency and for specific needs (Stansfield and Kenyon 1996). The interview questions did not specifically elicit the three properties of the [+NSP]; instead, they were broad enough to increase the probability that participants produce sentences with null subjects, verb-subject inversion, and *that*-trace violations. At all three collection times, the participants were asked to: (1) discuss personal activities; (2) explain a process; (3) state advantages and disadvantages; (4) support an opinion; and (5) hypothesize on an impersonal topic. In using pictures as stimuli, participants were instructed to (1) ask questions; (2) describe a place or activities; (3) give directions from one place to another using a map; (4) narrate a sequence of scenes in the present tense; and (5) narrate a sequence of scenes in the past tense. Appendix 2 presents the interview questions.

Procedures and Scoring

Grammaticality Judgment Tasks. Immediately preceding the grammaticality judgment tasks, a detailed explanation of the test and an example in English were presented to the participants. They were instructed to read each Spanish sentence and judge whether it was "Possible" or "Impossible" by circling the corresponding word that best fit the initial impression to the right of the sentence. If participants marked "Impossible", they were instructed to fix the sentence by inserting or deleting a letter or word to ensure that (1) they were rejecting sentences for the appropriate reasons, and (2) they were focusing on and correcting the target syntactic structures of the Spanish [+NSP]. Participants were instructed to read, judge, and correct each sentence as quickly as possible, not to change any answers or refer back to a sentence once they had advanced to another one, and to complete the tests as quickly as possible. Participants took an average of 15 minutes to complete this task.

Scoring of the GJT followed this protocol: Participants received one point per correct answer, that is, one point for each correctly accepted sentence (possible sentence accepted as "possible") and one point for each correctly rejected sentence (impossible sentence rejected as "impossible"). One GJT score each was generated for (1) the null subject items; (2) the grammatical expletive items; (3) the ungrammatical expletive items; (4) the grammatical verb-subject inversion items; (5) the grammatical *that*-trace sequences; and (6) the ungrammatical *that*-trace sequences.

Oral Interview. In a separate interview with the researcher in her office and following SOPI guidelines, the participants were asked ten questions. The interviews were tape-recorded with the participants' knowledge, and this same process was repeated at four and nine months. Participants took no more than 30 minutes to complete the interview.

Each occurrence of the Spanish parameter properties in the oral interviews was tallied. Four oral interview scores were generated from the following frequency scores: (1) for each null subject; (2) for each overt subject pronoun; (3) for grammatical use of expletive pronouns; and (4) for verbs produced with post-verbal subjects. No scores were tallied for *that*-trace items since none were produced. For each participant, percentage-use scores were obtained for each of the parameter properties by dividing the total number of each parameter property by 100.

Data Analysis and Results

Grammaticality Judgment Tasks. Statistical analyses were performed on the grammaticality judgment data. The GJT mean scores at one month, four months, and nine months are summarized in Table 1. As indicated in Figure 1, all scores improved with time, though differentially.

Table 1

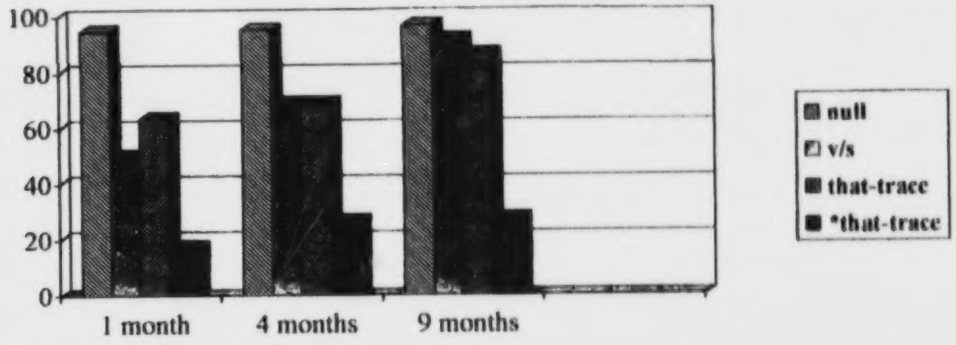
Grammaticality Judgment Task Mean Scores at 1 Month, 4 Months, and 9 Months.

Syntactic Property	Range of Scores	Mean (Standard Deviation) 1 Month	4 Months	9 Months
Null Subject	0–10	9.48 (.72)	9.52 (.96)	9.65 (.71)
Verb/Subject Inversion	0–5	2.48(1.69)	3.42 (1.57)	4.58 (.62)
That-trace present	0–5	3.16 (1.59)	3.42 (1.80)	4.30 (1.52)
**That*-trace absent	0–5	.87 (1.43)	1.32 (1.60)	1.35 (1.89)

n = 31

* Represents ungrammaticality

Figure 1
Mean Percentage GJT Scores at 1 Month, 4 Months, and 9 Months.



The means were then submitted to Independent-Samples T-Tests to ascertain whether the improvements were significant (Table 2). For the first property, null subjects, the data yielded a non-significant increase in mean scores from month one to month four (p = .869, df = 30) and from month four to month nine (p = .380) at the $p < .05$ level. These means and non-significant results suggest that the L2 language learners were already performing at ceiling on the test at the onset of the study abroad program.

On the second property, verb-subject inversion, the data yielded a significant increase from month one to month four (p = .033) and from month four to month nine (p = .000).

On the third property, _that_-trace effects, the data show a non-significant increase for the grammatical _that_-trace items from month 1 to month 4 (p = .492). However, there was a significant increase from month four to month nine (p = .05). For the ungrammatical _that_-trace items the increase was not significant (p = .210) from month one to month four, nor from month four to month nine (p = .943). The participants were able to identify grammatical sentences but did not significantly improve at identifying ungrammatical sentences.

Table 2
Independent-Samples T-Tests for Grammaticality Judgment Scores.[4]

Pair	Item	t	df	p
1-4 months	Null	-.166	30	.869
	V-S	-2.229	30	.033**
	That-trace	-.696	30	.492
	*_That_	-1.259	30	.210
4-9 months	Null	-.891	30	.380
	V-S	-4.005	30	.000**
	That-trace	-.1.871	30	.071
	*_That_	-.072	30	.943

Table 2
Independent-Samples T-Tests for Grammaticality Judgment Scores. (continued)

Pair	Item	*t*	*df*	*p*
1-9 months	Null	-.578	30	.879
	V/S	-7.031	30	.000**
	that-trace	-2.602	30	.013**
	**that*-trace	-1.316	30	.198

** $p < .05$ (denotes a significant difference in mean scores)

Oral Interview. Statistical analyses were performed on the oral narrative data. The mean-percentage scores at one month, four months, and nine months are summarized in Table 3. Similar to the GJT data, all scores improved with time. The means were then submitted to Independent-Samples T-Tests to test for significance. The mean percentage of null subject pronouns increased but not significantly at the $p < .05$ level ($p = .571$) from month one to month four. Similarly, there was no significant increase ($p = .517$) from the fourth month to the ninth month. Most probably, this non-significant increase occurred because the L2 language learners were already performing at the ceiling on the test at the onset of the study abroad program. For the second [+NSP] property, verb-subject inversion, the mean percentage of the number of verbs produced before subjects did not increase significantly ($p = .122$) from month one to month four; however, the scores did increase significantly from month four to month nine ($p = .008$). No mean scores or statistics were calculated for the third property since the participants produced none.

Table 3
Oral Mean Percentage Frequencies at 1 Month, 4 Months, and 9 Months.

Syntactic Property	Range of Tallies	Mean Percentage (Standard Deviation) 1 Month	4 Months	9 Months
Null	3-40	60.02(15.35)	61.36(13.01)	64.81(12.02)
V/S	0-2	4.01(5.37)	4.67(5.35)	6.24(5.38)
that-trace	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

n = 31
n/a = No data available.

In summary, the GJT and oral narrative data reveal that the most salient and least abstract syntactic feature (null subject) was acquired by the end of the first month of the program, at times even before the onset of a study abroad program. Between the fourth and ninth months, language learners acquired the most abstract and least salient syntactic features of the language (verb/subject inversion and *that*-trace). The second property, verb-subject inversion, which is somewhat salient in the target language input and not so abstract as to escape notice, was acquired by the fourth month of the study abroad program. However, acquisition of the least salient and most abstract property of the NSP (*that*-trace) occurs only between four and nine months of exposure to input.

Discussion and Limitations

Although results from this study suggest that spending the equivalent of a semester in a study abroad environment is beneficial linguistically, acquisition of underlying abstract syntactic features that are infrequent in the input occur only within the second semester abroad. Therefore, the academic year abroad seems to be the most beneficial for the acquisition of more complex aspects of a language.

A methodological limitation of this study concerns the assessment instruments. Although the oral interviews elicited a broad range of naturalistic narratives from the participants, they yielded no data on *that*-trace effects. Perhaps, in addition to the naturalistic spontaneous production data from the SOPI interviews, data could have been elicited from connected discourse. As Wang et al. (1992) explain: "connected discourse is more conducive to null subject use in general, because the referent of a null or pronominal subject can be more easily determined from the context" (p. 249). Questions pertaining to a book or a topic could have been used to elicit those structures of the null subject parameter. For example, to elicit *that*-trace sequences the participants could have been presented with photographs from children's books and then asked how they would ask a child about what is happening, e.g., who *they* thought ate Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother. This would probably elicit the following question in Spanish: *¿Quién piensas tú que comió la abuelita de la Caperucita Roja?* 'Who do you think ate Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother?' where the language learner would be tested on the production of a filled complementizer position.

Another methodological objection concerns the target items that test the third property of the null subject parameter, *that*-trace sequence violations. In Spanish, certain verbs allow for omission of the complementizer in tensed dependent clauses, most specifically verbs of opinion. These include *dudar* 'doubt', *suponer* 'suppose', and *parecer* 'seem' (Brovetto 2002). For this reason these verbs were not utilized. With the three verbs that were used in the target items the complementizer with *decir* is obligatory as long as it does not trigger the subjunctive mood in the independent clause. The use of *creer* and *pensar* could also hypothetically belong to the verbs of opinion.

These limitations aside, L2 learners of Spanish in the study abroad context improved in the development of the three NSP properties from month one to month four to month nine, especially by the ninth month. On some level, this is no surprise because the more one uses and is exposed to a language, the more proficient one becomes. Therefore, other studies need to demonstrate in greater detail and with comparative studies measuring summer programs to semester programs to academic year programs the validity of the dictum "the longer the better." Specifically, empirical evidence gained from generative studies (UG) focusing on the development of underlying syntactic competence by advanced L2 learners will contribute to a better understanding of the full potential of the study abroad experience under different conditions (e.g., one year versus a semester or a summer) and the linguistic gains the advanced language learner will make.

Discussion and Conclusion

Educators agree that a study abroad experience is an important key to solidifying a learner's foreign language competence. In 1989 The National Task Force on Undergraduate Education Abroad was established with representatives from the National Association for Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA), the Council on International Educational Exchange

(CIEE) and the Institute of International Education (IIE). The task force focused primarily on the internationalization of the undergraduate experience. In 1990, the work of the committee resulted in five major recommendations: (1) by the year 2000, 10% of U.S. college students should study abroad; (2) there should be greater diversity in participating students, locations, and program types; (3) the study abroad experience should be integrated into regular degree programs in many different fields; (4) factors that inhibit expansion of study abroad need to be addressed; (5) funding from private and public sources needs to increase. The task force made this recommendation based on the study of Carlson et al. (1990) who, not surprisingly, found that not only did the U.S. students increase their foreign language proficiency, but that the knowledge of their host country also increased dramatically.

Among important conditions language majors will need for success are a good theoretical background (literature and grammar) but also practical experience (i.e., linguistic, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, cultural knowledge, international experience) with using the language. The optimal place to gain practical knowledge is to live in the target community. Not only will the study abroad experience probably make foreign language majors better prepared for the work force, but it will most likely help open the doors to a global community. Chieffo and Zipser (2001) state "a sojourn abroad not only can do wonders for students' foreign language acquisition but also can foster the understanding of other cultures necessary for success in today's global society" (p. 79).

A related question is to ask how the university language department at home can work with study abroad programs to facilitate advanced L2 learning. First, not all programs abroad are beneficial to all students. Therefore, the study abroad advisor should categorize potential study abroad students in two ways: level of proficiency in the L2 and degree of independence. The lower L2 proficiency students who will be taking language courses abroad at the first or second year level should be placed in programs that offer basic language classes and that will provide the students with a greater degree of guidance and assistance in the study abroad country. On the other hand, the advanced language learners should be placed in programs that offer advanced foreign language and literature courses beyond the basic language courses and that give students more independence when dealing with everyday situations (finding an apartment, opening a bank account, ordering phone service, etc.) so that they will be forced to use the L2 in more contextualized situations. In addition, programs should offer more motivated advanced students the freedom to take courses for credit through the university they are attending as long as they can work independently and deal with the university's heavy emphasis on end-of-course examination (Cholakian 1992, p. 20) and different pedagogical ideologies around the world. That does not mean that we only send independent students. Not all advanced students feel comfortable with the expectations in a foreign country and would prefer to receive guidance and assistance just like lower proficiency students. At the same time, advanced language learners who are interested in solidifying their L2 proficiency can achieve this only by being placed in situations where they have to negotiate for meaning in contextualized situations (and not rely on a resident director to do it for them). As mentioned previously, before sending the advanced language learners to the highly independent University of Barcelona program, three faculty members at the University of Illinois conduct a lengthy interview to determine whether they would succeed personally in such an environment. Advanced learners judged to be independent were then encouraged to enroll in University of Barcelona courses (besides the CORE courses), where they faced the European education system in addition to the added linguistic benefits of not relying on English when communication breaks down.

A second factor to keep in mind when coordinating a study abroad program is that the advanced-level courses at the home university should be closely integrated with the abroad program; that is, the home university needs to invest time in developing study abroad programs that reflect what is done at home. For example, the program director of the University Studies Abroad Consortium (USAC) at the University of Nevada at Reno (UNR), Dr. Carmelo Urza, coordinated a conference in Spain during May of 2003, where all USAC program teachers in Spain met with him and other foreign language professors of American universities to articulate and redevelop courses abroad so that they are similar in structure, evaluation, and content to those offered in the U.S. The University of Illinois program abroad to the University of Barcelona successfully offered courses through the CORE program where the classes were parallel in content and evaluation to classes offered at the home university. In addition, only native Spanish speakers who had direct experience with or were familiar with the American education system taught the CORE classes to the American students. To meet that requirement, the USAC program director at UNR has provided Spanish USAC instructors the opportunity to teach Spanish at the University of Reno for a semester or two in order to become more familiar with the U.S. educational system. A combination of integrated classes and preparation of the instructors allowed students to complete their degrees without interruption upon their return to their home universities.

A third factor to consider is how to prepare advanced language learners for what they will encounter at the foreign university. Teichler and Steube (1991) reported that some U.S. study abroad programs are not successful because students have problems in academic communication in the foreign language (p. 346). Initially, most students will have difficulty becoming accustomed to their new academic environment. Generally after a year, advanced language learners will have the opportunity to become acclimated and acculturated to their new university environment. In addition, if students need additional guidance, a resident director, preferably an American university faculty member, will assist the student. The resident director at the *Centro de California/Illinois* in the University of Barcelona was an American professor who met with students during the middle and at end of both semesters to assist with academic planning and counseling. In addition, before the University of Illinois students could go abroad, they were required to enroll in a course that familiarized them with how universities function abroad.

Many factors come into play in the creation of a study-abroad program that is most effective linguistically for advanced L2 learners. Not only should these learners be involved in programs abroad that allow them to be exposed to as much contextualized input as possible and to use the target language in as many everyday contexts as possible, but their courses must be integrated into the home university's curriculum. Finally, the data from this study contributed empirical evidence suggesting that one-year abroad is the optimal duration for developing complex structures for advanced foreign language learners.[5]

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the AAUSC session *The Advanced Learner: Curricular and Programmatic Issues* at ACTFL in Salt Lake City, November 23rd, 2002. A different study using some of the data in this present paper is to appear in *Hispania* (entitled: *The Acquisition of NSP Properties in SLA: Some Effects of Positive Evidence in a Natural Learning Setting*.)
2. Syntactic explanations are outside the scope of the paper. For literature on how the three properties are part of the NSP, see Chomsky (1981).

3. SOPI is a standardized performance-based speaking test that was developed by the Center for Applied Linguistics; it assesses general speaking proficiency in a second language (Liskin-Gasparro 1987).
4. *p* is the observed significance level. It provides the basis for deciding whether or not to reject the null hypothesis. It is the probability that a statistical result as extreme as the one observed would occur if the null hypothesis were true. If the observed significance level is small enough, usually less that 0.05 or 0.01, the null hypothesis is rejected.
5. I would like to thank the 31 participants of this study and the Spanish and Portuguese Department at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign for awarding me the one-year teaching position at the University of Barcelona during the academic year 1997–1998; this allowed me to study the longitudinal effects of study abroad on second language acquisition.

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Appendix 1

Target Sentences for Grammaticality Judgment Test—1 Month

Property	Sentences
Null subjects	
(null subject pronouns)	Salieron de la casa a las ocho.
	Estudio mucho por la mañana.
	***
(expletives)	Hay un perro grande en el jardín.
	Hay que comer bien cada día.
	Está nevando en las montañas.
	*Ahora lo está lloviendo afuera.
	*En octubre lo nieve poco en los EE.UU.
	*En Alaska lo hace mucho frío.
	*Lo es bueno comer fruta.
	*Lo es malo ver mucha televisión.
Verb-subject inversion	*Creo yo* que Luis es culpable.
	Piensa él que la paella es buena.
	Opinamos nosotros que Castro es bueno.
	Durmió el bebé 3 horas.
	Ya *comieron mis hermanos* la cena.
	***
That-trace effects	¿Quién cree la policía que mató al joyero?
	¿Quién piensan los padres que raptó a su hija?
	¿Quién dicen Uds. que se hizo daño?
	¿Quién dices tú que habla japonés aquí?
	¿Quién cree el FBI que asesinó al presidente?
	*¿Quién pensamos nosotros robó el dinero?
	*¿Quién piensan Uds. regaló las flores a Tina?
	*¿Quién creen Uds. pegó al hombre?
	*¿Quién crees tú va a ganar mañana?
	*¿Quién dices tú viene a la fiesta contigo?

*Ungrammatical sentence.

***Ungrammatical sentences for these properties do not exist in Spanish.

Appendix 2

Oral Interview Questions

Time	Questions	
One month, Four months, & Nine months	Picture 1	Ask questions
	Picture 2	Describe a place/activities
	Picture 3	Give directions
	Picture 4	Narrate in present time
	Picture 5	Narrate in past time

One month

1. Ahora en el año que vas a estar aquí, ¿Qué lugares te gustaría visitar?
2. ¿Cuál fue el proceso que tú seguiste / hiciste para encontrar tu piso?
3. ¿Cuál sería una ventaja y una desventaja de estar aquí un año?
4. ¿Qué opinas tú sobre cómo se visten los españoles?
5. ¿Qué pasaría si todas las universidades establecieran como requisito que los estudiantes necesitan estudiar en el extranjero por un año antes de graduarse?

Four months

1. ¿Cómo fueron tus vacaciones en diciembre?
2. Describe el proceso para escribir un trabajo escrito para una de tus clases en la UB.
3. Menciona una ventaja/desventaja de regresar a los EEUU después de solo UN semestre en Barcelona en vez de UN año.
4. Muchos dicen que los catalanes prefieren hablar catalán en vez del castellano, y también que los catalanes se enojan cuando no les hablan en catalán. ¿Qué opinas tú?
5. ¿Qué pasaría si descubrieran que la reina Elizabeth de Inglaterra y su hijo, el príncipe Carlos, tuvieron algo que ver en la muerte de la princesa Diana y Dodi?

Nine months

1. ¿Qué vas a hacer este verano?
2. ¿Me podrías explicar el proceso para prepararte para ir de viaje?
3. Menciona una ventaja o una desventaja sobre el hecho de que aquí en Barcelona se habla castellano y catalán.
4. ¿Crees que la vida en España es similar a la vida en EE.UU.? ¿Por qué?
5. ¿Qué harían los americanos si Bill Clinton fuera culpable de todas sus acusaciones sexuales?

"What's Business Got To Do with It?" The Unexplored Potential of Business Language Courses for Advanced Foreign Language Learning

Astrid Weigert

Abstract

Advanced-level foreign language business courses have an as yet unexplored potential to contribute to advanced students' literacy and discourse development. The first part of the paper highlights current limitations for the development of new approaches for advanced-level content courses as they present themselves within the SLA research community, within departmental structures, and within the practitioner community of business language instructors. The second part of the paper offers a theme and genre-based approach to the design of business language courses. Examples are drawn from a thematic unit on international mergers developed for a Business German course at Georgetown University.

Introduction

Most undergraduate business language courses take place at the advanced level of instruction (third year or higher), yet their possible role and potential contribution to advanced foreign language learning in an academic context remain unexplored, undefined, and underutilized. This phenomenon of neglect or inattention is not unique to advanced-level business language courses but is shared with the majority of advanced-level, upper-division "content" courses of a literary/cultural orientation, where explicit "language learning" is no longer a pedagogical goal, since students have presumably "mastered" the language in lower division courses. The result is a paradoxical situation in which we teach these courses, whether with a business or literary/cultural content focus, but do not attend to the requisite language learning. I contend that business courses, a category of courses which has traditionally been relegated to a second-class niche existence in foreign language departments, could very well make a substantial contribution to advanced foreign language learning. Specifically, when they are designed with a strong literacy orientation, they can contribute to developing advanced students' cognitive and linguistic abilities and not merely convey factual information or focus on specialized vocabulary, as is so prevalent in business language courses today.

For a definition of literacy, I draw on socio-culturally focused literacy research, in particular Gee's article "What is literacy?" (1998). The basis for Gee's argument is the distinction he makes between "primary" and "secondary" discourses, where primary discourse is "our socio-culturally determined way of using our native language in face-to-face communication with intimates" (55) and where secondary discourses "involve social institutions beyond the family" (56) such as "schools, workplaces, stores, government offices, business, churches, etc." (56). Having established this distinction, Gee defines literacy as "control of secondary uses of language (i.e., uses of language in secondary discourses)" (56). Gee understands the term "control" not as synonymous to mastery, but rather as a matter of degree in being able to use and function within secondary discourses. For advanced foreign language learners in postsecondary academic settings, the goal of acquiring "control" of the discourses of public life is appropriate as it moves learners beyond the primary discourses of familiarity, which dominate introductory and intermediate levels of instruction. Discourse communities of specific professions, such as academics, economists, politicians or journalists, have developed particular discursive frameworks and features whose use marks them as members of the respective community. Certain genres dominate the discourse of certain communities and are therefore particularly useful for advanced language learning. In the realm of politics, it may be the public speech, in economics the statistical report, for example. Some genres are used with slight variations in a number of discourse communities and are therefore particularly valuable and productive for advanced learners. One such example is the genre of the book review, which can involve such areas as literature, economics, history, and politics. It is this particular genre that I have chosen as the focus for the instructional unit that I describe in the second part of this paper.

The purpose of this paper, then, is two-fold: first, it seeks to highlight some of the current limitations hampering the development of new approaches towards advanced level content courses, including business language courses. These limitations are evident within the SLA research community, within departmental structures, and within the practitioner community of business language instructors; second, it seeks to offer a new approach to the design of business language courses that is firmly grounded in the above defined notion of literacy. Of the many aspects important to course design, my comments highlight the foundational aspect of materials selection. The organizing foci of my approach are theme and genre. I will present sequenced materials for a thematic unit on international mergers with a genre focus on book reviews, as well as task sheets for written and oral assignments.

Current Limitations: The SLA Research Community

Two research areas are particularly relevant for instructors of advanced-level content courses: one, research on content-based instruction (CBI) and two, research on advanced foreign language learning. While there is a wealth of literature on CBI, the research community is just beginning to focus on issues of advanced foreign language learning. With regard to CBI, a particularly useful volume within the vast literature is Snow and Brinton's *The Content-Based Classroom. Perspectives on Integrating Language and Content* (1997). As indicated by the second part of the book's title, for the editors it is precisely the combination of focused language instruction and content teaching that lies at the heart of CBI. The initial chapter by Stoller and Grabe offers an overview of research that supports CBI, ranging from second language acquisition to cognitive psychology. It concludes with a list of seven strong rationales for CBI, of which I will highlight two that are most relevant to my argument. The first emphasizes the contextualized nature of language learning through CBI: "[...] students are taught useful language that is embedded within relevant discourse contexts rather than as isolated language fragments. [...] Thus, CBI allows for explicit language instruction, integrated with content instruction, in a relevant and purposeful context." (20). I address the issue of "relevant discourse context" through my advocacy of a theme and genre-based approach, and the issue of embeddedness vs. fragmentation of language through my advocacy of vocabulary acquisition via semantic fields later on in this paper. The second concerns the issue of curriculum flexibility: "CBI allows greater flexibility and adaptability to be built into the curriculum and activity sequences. [...]." (20). I address this issue through my advocacy of specific criteria for materials selection and sequencing.

The initial, theoretically-oriented chapter is followed by a very practically-oriented chapter by Stoller and Grabe, in which the authors outline a six point program which they label the "Six T's approach to language and content instruction" (82). A fundamental curricular tenet established by Stoller and Grabe is the equivalency of content-based instruction with theme-based instruction and the resulting interchangeability of the two terms. It is therefore not surprising that the first "T" is Themes, defined as "the central ideas that organize major curricular units" (83). The other five "T's" are Texts, Topics, i.e., "subunits of content which explore more specific aspects of the theme" (83), Threads, i.e., "linkages across themes which create greater curricular coherence" (84), Tasks, defined as "the instructional activities and techniques utilized for content, language, and strategy instruction in language classrooms" (84), and finally Transitions, i.e., "explicitly planned actions which provide coherence *across* topics in a theme unit and *across* tasks within topics" (84). Stoller and Grabe are not satisfied with simply presenting and defining the Six T's, but also outline eight concrete steps for implementing their approach, include caveats, and conclude with listing issues that still need further elaboration. Among these issues is that of "principles of text selection" (94), for which I propose concrete criteria later on. Another issue on that list is "the concept of threads and their contributions to curricular coherence" (94). I propose that the notion of genre, and for purposes of this paper the genre book review, could fulfill this important function.

As alluded to above, research on advanced foreign language learning is scarce within the SLA community. Workable definitions of the characteristics of advanced learners as well as theoretical models for the intellectual, cognitive, and linguistic goals of these learners are just beginning to emerge. As a consequence of these research deficits, advanced-level instructors lack a readily available knowledge base for the design and/or re-design of their advanced-level courses. Such redesign is a formidable task and that is, of course, the reason why we shy away from it. The task becomes less formidable, however, if we actively avail ourselves of those research approaches already available on advanced language learning.

The most convincing theoretical frameworks in this research area involve precisely the concepts of literacy and discourse competence. Kern (2002 and this volume) advances the notion of literacy as a means to overcome the language-content (in his case literary content) split so prevalent between lower-division and upper-division courses in foreign language departments. Based on a sociocognitive view of literacy, Kern establishes his own definition of literacy in the specific context of academic foreign language education. The first sentence of his definition may suffice here: "Literacy is the use of socially-, historically-, and culturally-situated practices of creating and interpreting meaning through texts" (22). Kern draws up a list of seven key principles that evolve from his definition of literacy. For Kern, literacy involves interpretation, collaboration, conventions, cultural knowledge, problem solving, reflection and self-reflection and, finally, language use. While Kern stresses the applicability of these principles to all levels of language learning, he specifically advocates the ability to create, analyze, interpret, and transform discourse as goals for the upper end of the curriculum. To this end, Kern advocates a renewed emphasis and "commitment to the study of written communication" (24) in order to, among other reasons, also develop the oral abilities required in academic settings.

A very recent and welcome addition to the literature on advanced foreign language learning is Leaver and Shektman's *From Advanced to Distinguished: Developing Professional-level Language Proficiency* (2002). The volume contains an article by Byrnes that addresses academic-level foreign language abilities. Drawing on Gee's definition of literacy as being able to use and function within discourses of public life, she convincingly advocates the development of literacy and discourse competence as specific goals for advanced learners in academic settings. In her comprehensive article, Byrnes first lays out current assumptions and pervasive metaphors about the advanced learner that include the influence of the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines, the privileging of the formal features of the language, the dominance of interactive speech, and the influence of assessment and particular assessment practices. In the following section, she draws up a profile of the advanced learner and on the basis of this profile presents four principles for a pedagogy of advanced foreign language learning. The first, a cognitive focus on the learner, requires doing away with "an either-or focus on meaning or form" (54) and replace it with carefully developed pedagogies "that foster awareness of intricate meaning-form relationships at various levels..." (54.). The second principle, explicit genre-based teaching, "facilitate[s] the qualitative shift in language use that AL2 (advanced foreign language learning, A.W.) abilities require" (55), particularly when the genres under investigation are those of public or, in Gee's terms, "secondary" discourse. An explicit focus on genre allows the advanced learner to acquire "register- and genre-appropriate textual organization and also [...] the characteristic lexicogrammatical collocations of a particular genre and topical area" (55). To this end, Byrnes, like Kern above, advocates a renewed emphasis on written communication as a means to develop the oral abilities required in academic settings.

Byrnes' third principle is a pedagogy of modeling, coaching, and scaffolding which is also termed "learning-through-guided experience" (56), where carefully devised models of analysis and interpretation encourage and enable students to tackle linguistically and cognitively complex and challenging tasks. The fourth and last principle is that of a task-based pedagogy. Here, Byrnes addresses such issues as authentic and pedagogical tasks, task complexity, task difficulty, and task conditions, which are crucial to any well-designed curriculum.

The research by Kern and Byrnes that was highlighted here offers accessible and productive approaches towards rethinking some of the foundational aspects for the design of advanced-level content courses. Practical applications of some of their most salient points, such as genre-focus, modeling, and task, play an important role in the sample instructional unit in the second part of this paper.

Business language instructors might be prone to question the validity and value of these principles and learning goals for their courses, which traditionally claim to prepare students for the "real world." Typically, content materials are fact-based, information-laden texts on such topics as the types of industries in Germany, the German social system as it relates to work issues, trade fairs, modes of transportation. In addition, the mechanics and formulaic expressions used in business letters are addressed. In contrast, I contend that literacy and discourse competence are valid and attainable goals in business courses, because they raise the intellectual bar on business language courses and therefore put them on a par with upper-level courses focused on literature and/or culture. The application of these principles does, however, make for very differently designed business courses.

Current Limitations: Departmental Structures

The second set of limitations for new approaches to business language courses is of an institutional nature. One of the major issues is the limited role of Language Program Directors/Coordinators (LPD/Cs) with regard to advanced-level courses in most departments. The majority of LPD/Cs spend most of their professional energy on coordinating multi-section first and second-year language courses with an emphasis on supervisory and administrative duties. Advanced "content" courses and issues of advanced language learning usually do not fall into the LDP/Cs' sphere of influence. This is a lamentable fact for two reasons. First, while most LPD/Cs may be content not to be involved in advanced-level coordination due to their heavy workload, their almost exclusive presence in lower-level courses and their ensuing absence in upper-level courses with more intellectual substance may be exactly what is contributing to their often marginal status in foreign language departments. It is therefore crucial that departments create opportunities for LPD/Cs to be included in advanced-level issues and equally crucial that LDP/Cs seize these opportunities. Second, coordination of advanced courses is just as important as coordination of lower-division courses. The lack of a coordinator for advanced courses coupled with the lack of an articulated curriculum in most departments results in the current status of content courses as individualized endeavors, where all aspects of a course are left to the individual instructor. With this individualized approach to advanced language learning, collaboration on this level is rare, support and incentives for collaboration even rarer. Formulating broader learning goals for content courses that would apply to all advanced courses taught in a department, no matter their content focus, takes a concerted effort by a department and its individual faculty members. At my home department at Georgetown University, for example, curricular reform has only been possible as a collaborative effort between faculty, graduate students, and adjuncts with the LPD,—in our case, the "Curriculum Coordinator"—playing a central role on all instructional levels.

Individual instructors may ask themselves why they should be taking on such a time- and energy-consuming task when courses are seemingly working well and when the LPD/C is too busy with lower-level coordination to guide such an undertaking with her or his expertise. Furthermore, instructors may ask what such disparate content courses as, for instance, literary history of the Enlightenment, Berlin in the 20th century, and Business in Germany would have in common. The answer is that while the content certainly differs, these courses can share an emphasis on literacy and discourse competence, where its specifics will play out differently in each course, based on text materials and genres chosen. The broadly worded, yet focused level descriptions for Levels IV and V in Georgetown University's German Department undergraduate curriculum may serve as an example here.[1]

Current Limitations: The Community of Business Language Instructors

The third obstacle for new approaches lies within the community of business language instructors itself. I contend that the community has constructed too limited a raison d'être for its existence,—a view which stresses its separateness from other advanced-level content courses rather than the commonalities. In the Business German community, this view of a separate identity has even been expressed in the notion of a "new discipline" (see title of Cothran and Gramberg article (2000)), a claim that seems particularly far-fetched when one takes into consideration the authors' statement that "a fundamental question still remains: What exactly is Business German?" (p. 151). Certainly, a field where such a fundamental question is still unanswered, cannot be considered a discipline. The Business German community has developed a rationale for its existence that centers solely on the practical needs of employers and students in a globalized business world. This view was first expressed by Keck back in 1991, continued to be upheld by Cothran and Gramberg in 2000, when they claimed at the conclusion of their article that "German for Business [...] will provide our students with knowledge that will equip them to be successful in the global marketplace" (153), and resurfaces again in the latest volume, again edited by Cothran and Gramberg (2002), when Cothran concludes her introductory article by saying that the purpose of the compiled essays is to help instructors "to prepare the next generation of business men and women for successful global interaction" (17).

The exclusive focus on marketable skills has resulted in an increased emphasis on the internationally recognized Business German exam *Prüfung Wirtschaftsdeutsch International (PWD)* which is administered at U.S. universities by Business German instructors under the auspices of the Goethe Institute.[2] While obtaining such a certificate is certainly a valuable goal for students, it does not justify the fact that *PWD* content areas have been determining textbook structures, which in turn have been determining course structures. The perceived need to "cover" as many content areas as possible, in order to prepare students for the *PWD*, inevitably leads to superficial, merely fact-based treatment of topics, with communicative skills and vocabulary acquisition as its main goals. While the *PWD* has had significant influence on Business German textbooks and course structures, the small number of students actually taking the exam (only about 100 examinees per year), does not justify this influence.[3]

The "cover-all-fronts" approach robs Business German courses of their intellectual potential, since it leaves neither time for in-depth analysis of issues and texts, nor for the development of discourse competence and literacy.[4] Without such an intellectual frame that is grounded in core aspects of the humanities, Business German courses (and Business language courses in other foreign languages) run the risk of being identified by university administrators as pure service-oriented courses which could easily be outsourced to private language schools. While I consider this risk to be real, I am also aware of the fact that service-oriented and pre-professional courses are popular with students and therefore maintain or even increase enrollment. In that case, I see all the more reason for the community of business language instructors to seize this opportunity and contribute to the education of our students by framing their instruction within a literacy orientation.

In summary, the current limitations on developing intellectually demanding advanced-level Business courses in foreign languages reside in three communities and can and should be addressed by all three: the SLA research community is called upon to engage more intensively with issues of advanced language learning; departmental communities are called upon to involve LPDs also on upper-level course coordination and to work collaboratively in developing advanced-level content courses. Finally, the community of Business instructors in foreign languages is called upon to address issues of intellectual challenge and to reconsider its skewed focus on learners' marketable skills.

Reconceptualizing Business Language Courses: Theme and Genre Focus

In the following, I present an instructional unit on international mergers that is part of my course "German Business Culture and Globalization" at Georgetown University's Department of German. At the core of my endeavor was the desire to design a Business German course whose intellectual merit would be on a par with other advanced-level content courses on literary and cultural topics offered in the department. Since literacy and discourse competence have been identified as central aspects on all levels of the department's undergraduate curriculum, but particularly for advanced-level content courses (Levels IV and V in the Georgetown curriculum), all advanced content courses, including business-related courses, needed rethinking. For business content courses, the redesign meant a shift away from the conveyance of factual information and technical vocabulary towards furthering students' development of literacy and discourse competence.[5] The task of putting these abstract concepts into concrete steps for design of a business course did not fall to me alone. Departmental workshops and discussion groups by instructional level, and particularly my work with the Spencer Foundation grant[6] project on materials development, helped shape "theme" and "genre" as the two central organizing principles of my course "German Business Culture and Globalization."

With regard to theme, I reconsidered the number of themes per semester, the linkage between themes, and the sequencing of materials within a given theme. My course concept drastically reduces the number of themes examined in a semester-long course. Given that a semester has about 14 weeks of instruction, with courses meeting 75 minutes twice a week, I have found it most productive to have 3-4 themes per semester which means one theme for about 3-4 weeks. Such a time frame allows for in-depth coverage of a content area, while at the same time providing enough thematic variety within a semester. Within a given theme of 3-4 weeks in length, 2-3 topics are an additional useful division. The linkage of themes in a semester generally falls into two categories: themes can be "open", meaning closely connected so that one theme leads into the next one, or they can be "closed", meaning they are self-contained units with no immediate links to each other. I chose the latter, the "closed" variation, based on the three themes which I had developed for the course: (1) international mergers and their cultural factors; (2) labor unions in the 21st century; and (3) current issues in the EU. The choice of "closed" thematic units does not run counter to Stoller and Grabe's call for curricular coherence via threads that link a course as a whole. Genre can function as the glue between self-contained thematic units when it is forefronted in the pedagogical approach as the overarching concept for content and linguistic work to be done in the course.

My proposal of a three-theme course is a significant departure from traditional Business German textbook structure of about 10 themes (equaling 10 chapters) per semester and therefore is not text-book-based but based on materials selected by me and compiled in a reader.

Having settled on a course structure of three closed themes, I next needed to decide on the sequencing of materials within a theme. Complexity and abstractness of content and language—which usually go hand in hand—were to be the endpoint of each thematic unit, not the beginning. In my experience, the most productive way of covering a thematic unit is on a gradual trajectory from the personal and concrete to the abstract and complex. Such an approach allows students to "enter" into a theme conceptually and linguistically, it allows them gradually to gain confidence in the content and the language used to express that content, and, finally, it prepares them for the interlocking conceptual and more abstract and complex linguistic character of the materials at the end of the unit (see also the chart "Continua of Multiple Literacies" in Byrnes and Sprang, this volume).

With these considerations in mind, I developed the following sequence of materials for the unit on international mergers. Based on the concrete-to-abstract trajectory, the unit starts with a very concrete example of such an international merger, the German-American merger of the automobile companies Daimler-Benz and Chrysler—which is followed by more abstract and more broadly applicable texts on mergers and their cultural factors in general.

Course Title: German Business Culture and Globalization
Theme I: International Mergers and their Cultural Factors

1. **Documentary video** (produced by Deutsche Welle; length: 30 minutes) "Stern über Detroit: Szenen einer Ehe"—"Star above Detroit: Scenes of a Marriage"

   provides impressions of managers both at Daimler and Chrysler in the first months after the merger, impressions of headquarters, organizational structure, city of Detroit, first joint meetings of managers. Well-structured with different episodes, rather superficial information, but a good point of departure

2. **Advertising brochure** for newly merged company:
   "Was geschieht, wenn sich 428 000 außergewöhnliche Menschen begegnen?"
   "What happens, when 428,000 extraordinary people meet?"

   10-page color brochure with portraits of Daimler and Chrysler employees/managers on opposite pages; small amount of text; shows how the newly formed company wants to portray itself
3. **Short newspaper article**
   "Begegnungen bei DaimlerChrysler" (*Die Welt*, November 11, 1998)
   "Encounters at DaimlerChrysler"

   describes layout of advertising brochure and critiques effectiveness
4. **Two book chapters** of Holger Appel, and Christoph Hein, *Der DaimlerChrysler Deal*, Stuttgart, DVA, 1998.

   provide background information on very different company histories of Daimler-Benz and Chrysler; interspersed with anecdotes about company founders and current and previous top managers
5. **Book review:** "Der große Coup"—"The Big Coup"
   (*Die Zeit*, February 4, 1999)

   review by Dietmar H. Lamparter of Holger Appel and Christoph Hein, *Der DaimlerChrysler Deal* German perspective
6. **Book review**: "Von wegen gleich"—"Anything but equal"
   (*Die Zeit*, July 13, 2000)

   review of Bill Vlasic and Bradley A. Sterz, *Taken for a Ride—How Daimler-Benz Drove off with Chrysler,* New York: 2000
   American perspective
7. **English background articles** from *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* on personnel and financial developments of DaimlerChrysler over the last year
8. **Opinion piece**
   "Der Schönwetterplan"—"A Plan for Good Times Only"
   (*Die Zeit*, March 1, 2001)

   argumentative opinion piece on the merits and effectiveness of most recent attempts by DaimlerChrysler leadership to turn around Chrysler performance
9. **Magazine article**, "Szenen einer Ehe" ("Scenes of a Marriage") by German author Peter Schneider
   unedited German version of article that appeared in *New York Times Magazine* of August 12, 2001
   length: 12 single-spaced pages

   entertaining examination of German-American cultural factors at play in merger; witty, ironic; metaphoric use of language

   English version as published in *New York Times Magazine*
10. **Book review**: "Hätte Schrempp das gelesen"—"If Schrempp had only read this"
    (*Die Zeit*, August 19, 2001)

    review of Max Habeck et al., *After the Merger: Seven Rules for Successful Post-Merger Integration*, London: 2000

11. **Complex and abstract newspaper article**
    "Wie sich Fehlschläge bei Übernahmen verhindern lassen"—"How to prevent mergers from failing" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 13, 2000)

    lists and describes 12 principles for successful mergers
12. **Complex and abstract newspaper article by management consultant**
    "Die ersten hundert Tage einer Fusion entscheiden"—
    "The first 100 days of a merger are key" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 5, 1999)

    abstract and complex analysis of "hard" and "soft" factors of a merger

The above list of sequenced materials exposes students to a number of genres, from an advertising brochure, to opinion pieces, to book reviews. Exposure to a variety of genres is certainly an important step towards the goal of increased literacy and discourse competence. At the same time, however, variety alone is not enough. I have found it productive to highlight one genre per thematic unit and to focus intensively on the genre-specific content and linguistic features in order to further students' literacy and discourse competence.

For the unit on international mergers, I highlighted the genre "book review", for which the list contains three examples (numbers 5, 6, and 10). While at first glance this genre choice may seem counterintuitive or irrelevant for a business language course, its central communicative function, evaluation, is certainly highly relevant in the business arena. At the same time, evaluation is a key feature in literary and cultural studies as well. Focusing on such a broadly applicable genre and its language features in the target language, allows for increased transferability of students' knowledge: not only can they draw on their L1 genre knowledge but more importantly they can transfer acquired genre and linguistic features to foreign language courses with widely differing content foci.

Genre specificity plays itself out both in content and linguistic features. Hyland's (2000) excellent book on disciplinary discourses devotes one chapter to the genre book review and offers highly productive analyses on such issues as categories of evaluation, structural patterns of praise and criticism, linguistic strategies for hedging criticism, e.g., the frequent use of modal verbs, the use of praise-criticism pairs in one syntactic unit, or the formulaic and restricted range of adjectives used. Hyland's chapter on book reviews offers a wealth of ideas for instructors on how to approach this genre through textual analysis. Table 1 on page 140 partially draws on Hyland's analysis, particularly in the use of contrastive pairs of praise and criticism under #3 in the right-hand "language" column, which include lexicogrammatical expressions to make positive and/or negative evaluative statements, to qualify such statements, and to support them. A more theoretical analysis of evaluation is presented by Hunston (1994). Hunston understands evaluation as "performing three distinct functions: that of status, value and relevance" (193-4) and subsequently elaborates on these three functions. While her analysis of each of these functions is a complex one, the scales of "certain-uncertain", "good-bad", and "important-unimportant" which she assigns respectively to the functions of status, value, and relevance provide another approach to address evaluative issues in textual analysis. Both Hyland and Hunston stress the communicative, interactional aspect of evaluative genres and the relevance of the discourse communities in which these genres are being used. One issue that would need further investigation is the transferability of these analyses across cultures. In my course design, I have transferred Hyland and Hunston findings to a German culture and language environment without having to make adjustments. Whether other European languages and cultures and in particular non-European languages and cultures would also allow for such easy transferability would require further research.

Overall, the inclusion of genre-specific content and language features adds a second dimension to the theme-related content and language features of the text. As such, work with the text becomes intellectually more demanding and stimulating.

The following schematic representation illustrates the linkage between content and language features as these occurred in a selected book review on the DaimlerChrylser merger whose text appears in the appendix (see Appendix 1). In particular, it shows the double-layers of theme and genre-specific content and theme and genre-specific language.

Text: Book review : "Der große Coup: Wie es zur Fusion von Daimler-Benz und Chrysler kam" (*Die Zeit*, 4. February 4, 1999)

Table 1

Content	and	Language
1. **theme-related content:** **the DaimlerChrysler merger**	↔	1. **theme-related textual language on merger** semantic field: "Fusion" (see below, Table 2)
names of principal actors		
secrecy of negotiations/surprise effect	↔	semantic field: "Überraschung" (see below, Table 3)
initial merger talk: place/length		
stumbling blocks in negotiations	↔	*fast an ... scheitern;* *keineswegs immer glatt laufen*
performance since merger	↔	*Klippen umschiffen* *Auftritt bravurös meistern*
characteristics of corporate cultures	↔	*Tempo und Effizienzdenken der Amerikaner/Qualitätsideal und technologisches Niveau der Deutschen*
legal form of merged company (AG)		
2. **genre-related content:** **factual information on book**	↔	2. **genre-related language:** **factual information on book**
approach: detail-oriented, interview-based	↔	*die Vorgeschichte nachzeichnen* *sämtliche verfügbaren Informationen über.... zusammentragen; das Protokoll der Verhandlung nachverfolgen*
background of authors (*FAZ* journalists)		
time for writing of book		
length of book		
questions answered/not answered		
	↔	3. **genre-related language: contrastive evaluative statements[+/–]**
	↔	(a) *an der Oberfläche bleiben [-], über die kolportierten Klischees nicht hinausgehen [-]* **aber** *sich den wichtigsten Fragen stellen [+]*
		(b) *keine völlig neuen Informationen liefern können[-],* **dennoch** *spannend sein [+]*
		(c) *[solche] Fragen nicht beantworten können [-],* **doch** *nach der Lektüre eine solide Basis haben [+]*

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The top half of the left column lists the theme-related content information provided to readers of the book review. It presents a number of relevant points about the car company merger, such as the names of the principal actors in the merger, the secrecy of the merger negotiations, place and length of merger talks, stumbling blocks in negotiations, performance since merger, legal form of merged company, and the characteristics of the corporate cultures involved in merger.

Acquiring theme-related business terminology is approached not through vocabulary lists, but rather through semantic fields. Semantic fields are built around key concepts of the text, in this case the concept of merger ("Fusion"), and employ both form-based derivational and content-based associative strategies. Table 2 shows the semantic field "Fusion" which contains phrases from the text under analysis.

Table 2

die Jahrhundertfusion in der Automobilindustrie		
zur Fusion kommen		die Automobilriesen tun sich zusammen
der spektakuläre Deal	**DIE FUSION**	die fusionierten Konzerne
die Bildung eines Mammutkonzerns		die Hochzeit im Himmel
	das Wagnis einer Fusion eingehen	

Table 2 shows derivational expressions which contain various grammatical manifestations of the word "Fusion", such as in the compound noun "Jahrhundertfusion" or in the form of the past participle "fusionierte Konzerne". The derivational strategy is usually the first step in assembling a semantic field, since derivational terms are most obviously connected to the key concept. Associative terms round out the field. They can, among others, be metaphors, such as the term "Hochzeit im Himmel" (marriage made in heaven) used for the automobile merger in the text, or they can express the consequences of the merger as the term "Bildung eines Mammutkonzerns" (creation of a behemoth company) indicates. The advantages of vocabulary acquisition via semantic fields are numerous. One, the controversy over lists with or without English translations becomes mute; two, students acquire not individual vocabulary items but collocations that mark a sophisticated level of language use. An example for this is the term "das Wagnis einer Fusion eingehen" ("to run the risk of a merger"), where students learn the expression "ein Wagnis eingehen" ("to run a risk") and simultaneously the use of the genitive case with the noun "Wagnis". With semantic fields students have a wealth of expressions at their disposal that allows them to vary their language use when talking or writing about mergers. The construction of semantic fields is explicitly modeled by the instructor so that in subsequent texts, students are able to draw up semantic fields by themselves.

Returning to Table 1, the close linkage between theme-related content and theme-related language aspects is indicated by double-headed arrows. For instance, the content aspect of the merger's secrecy and surprise announcement is reflected linguistically in a number of lexicogrammatical expressions associated with "Überraschung" ("surprise"), as the following semantic field in Table 3 shows:

Table 3

kein Fetzen Information war vorab nach aussen gedrungen

von der Fusion kalt erwischt werden

DIE ÜBERRASCHUNG

die Überraschung war perfekt

den Coup perfekt vorbereiten

den Deal geheimhalten

Returning to Table 1 again, the bottom half of the left-hand column provides the genre-related content aspects on the factual information of the book under review, including information about the authors' backgrounds, their approach, and the questions they do or do not answer in their book on the merger. Again, the right-hand column shows under (2) the language used to express these content points during the writing process. The language column then contains under (3) genre-related language specific to evaluative statements made in the book review. The review author weighs positive [+] statements of praise and negative statements [-] of criticism by linking them with "aber", "doch" (but) and "dennoch" (nevertheless), thereby providing nuanced judgments on the book's merits.

The schematic analysis shows that students repeatedly encounter merger-related content information and business terminology through reading theme-related book reviews. More importantly, though, it shows that a genre-based approach to content and language features adds another dimension inasmuch as it explicitly links these features to a larger textual whole. For example, students' overall literacy development is enhanced by familiarizing or expanding their knowledge of the genre book review with its major genre moves of locating the publication within a larger context, providing an overview of its content, evaluating its merits, and offering a summative assessment at the end. They become familiar with the genre's typical evaluation categories and the typical discourse organization, such as the final summative statement. Their discourse competence is enhanced by recognizing the complexity of value statements and the linguistic mechanisms for making and supporting qualified value statements. After in-depth work with three book review texts in the unit on mergers, students will have sharpened considerably their cognitive and linguistic abilities regarding more explicit but also more implicit forms of evaluation and judgment.

A last step remains in presenting my unit on international mergers. I claim that the presented genre-based approach translates very well into a task-based pedagogy, which constitutes one of the four principles of a pedagogy for advanced foreign language learning advocated by Byrnes (2002). In the following, I will present a rationale and examples for three different tasks: a text-analysis task, a writing task, and finally a speaking task for the unit on international mergers. All three tasks proceed from the premise that students need intensive exposure to modeling by the instructor alongside the textual models. The first task, an intensive text-analysis task, is based on Table 1 above, which illustrates the linkage of content and language in one specific book review on the topic of the merger of Daimler and Chrysler. Under the instructor's guidance, students work intensively with Table 1 and the corresponding text (see Appendix 1) to notice, identify, and discuss theme- and genre-related content and language aspects. Based on this model, students then use the template of Table 1 to analyze independently the theme- and genre-features of a second and third book review on the merger under discussion. In a next step, students compile a folder with self-selected book reviews on the issue of merger and acquisitions and highlight in particular the evaluative statements and their syntactic structure, using the [+] and [-] designations from Table 1. The writing task towards the end of the unit asks students to produce a book review of their own. I decided to have them write a review not of a whole book, but rather of a lengthy article by Peter Schneider which addresses the cultural issues of the DaimlerChrysler merger (see item # 9 on list of materials for unit). Because students had worked with and read a number of model book reviews with their typical discourse organization and linguistic features of evaluation and had acquired extensive background information on the merger via the list of unit materials, they were thus well-prepared to produce a book review on the respective theme. The detailed description of the writing assignment, including assessment categories, can be found in Appendix 3. The three main categories of "task", "content", and "language focus" on the assignment sheet also constitute the three main categories for assessment.[7] The details under each of these three categories stem directly from work done in class, ranging from central features of the book review genre, as described under "task", to content features on international mergers as described under "content", and finally to language features prevalent in the genre at hand, as described under "language focus". The genre-based approach thus provides clear assessment guidelines which are transparent both for students and instructors, an advantage that should not be underestimated. The unit concludes with a speaking task that is closely linked to the writing task. Students are to present and discuss their comments and evaluations on the Peter Schneider text under review within the format of a formal book discussion group. This task involves both the monologic presentation of their main arguments as well as the dialogic element of commenting on and reacting to other students' evaluative statements. Again, Appendix 4 provides a detailed description of this task.

While I have focused on the genre of the book review for this unit on mergers, I can envision a number of other genres of secondary discourses that would serve our students equally well in fostering their literacy within advanced-level content courses. As the course description (see Appendix 2) indicates, the second unit of the course has a content focus on labor unions and a genre focus on public speech, and the third unit has a content focus on current issues in the EU coupled with a genre focus on the newspaper interview. These genres have been selected both for their transferability to advanced-level content courses of a literary/cultural bend and for their potential contribution to students' development of literacy and discourse competence.

Conclusion

Advanced-level foreign language business courses have an as yet unexplored potential to contribute to the development of advanced students' literacy and discourse development. Thus far, their contributions have been limited due to research deficits on the advanced foreign language learner, institutional deficiencies in foreign language departments, and a practitioner community with exceedingly narrow views of its curricular and course goals. I have been privileged to work in a department where collaborative efforts towards curricular reform have created an integrated curriculum in which Business courses are not relegated to a niche existence but are an integral part of the advanced-level course offerings. As I have shown in the discussion of the course unit on international mergers, a reconceptualization of business courses with regard to theme and genre opens up intellectually stimulating avenues for the development of students' cognitive and linguistic development in business language courses.

Notes

1. These documents can be accessed at http://data.georgetown.edu/departments/german/programs/curriculum.
2. For an enthusiastic view of the Pruefung Wirtschaftsdeutsch International exam, see Broschek and Cothran 1991.
3. The Goethe Institute Chicago is responsible for the administration of the *PWD* in North America. According to their website, the number of examinees in 2000 was 106. It should be noted that, while the majority of examinees are undergraduate or graduate students, there is also always a small contingent of non-student examinees.
4. The only instance of a demand for intellectually challenging Business language courses that I could find is that by Azuma (1997) with regard to Business Japanese.
5. Paulsell (1994) acknowledges the importance of discourse analysis, but stresses the cross-cultural aspect only. Ultimately, she views the inclusion of discourse analysis features in the textbook she co-authored with Anne-Katrin Gramberg (Paulsell et al. 1999) as a means towards a high level of proficiency in Business German students.
6. My department received a grant for teacher-researchers from the Spencer Foundation. I was part of a research group on materials selection for advanced-level content courses, mentored by Heidi Byrnes. During the two-year project period, I redesigned a previous Business German course which is now offered as "German Business Culture and Globalization". More details on the Spencer Grant can be found at http://data.georgetown.edu/departments/german/faculty/byrnesh/grants/index.html.
7. All courses in the department employ the three categories of "task", "content", and "language focus" for writing and speaking assignments. This unified approach provides consistency across levels and courses.

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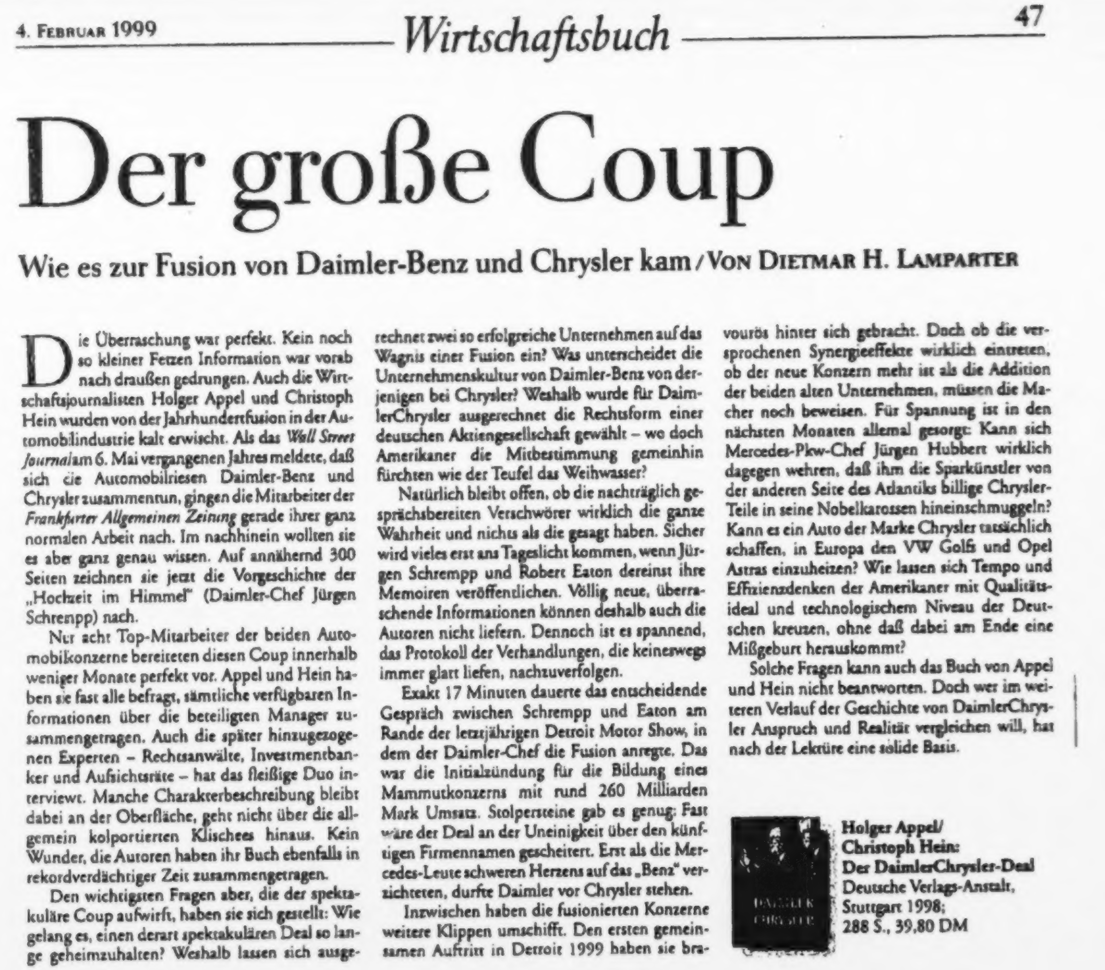
Appendix 1



4. FEBRUAR 1999 — *Wirtschaftsbuch* — 47

Der große Coup

Wie es zur Fusion von Daimler-Benz und Chrysler kam / VON DIETMAR H. LAMPARTER

Die Überraschung war perfekt. Kein noch so kleiner Fetzen Information war vorab nach draußen gedrungen. Auch die Wirtschaftsjournalisten Holger Appel und Christoph Hein wurden von der Jahrhundertfusion in der Automobilindustrie kalt erwischt. Als das *Wall Street Journal* am 6. Mai vergangenen Jahres meldete, daß sich die Automobilriesen Daimler-Benz und Chrysler zusammentun, gingen die Mitarbeiter der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* gerade ihrer ganz normalen Arbeit nach. Im nachhinein wollten sie es aber ganz genau wissen. Auf annähernd 300 Seiten zeichnen sie jetzt die Vorgeschichte der „Hochzeit im Himmel" (Daimler-Chef Jürgen Schrempp) nach.

Nur acht Top-Mitarbeiter der beiden Automobilkonzerne bereiteten diesen Coup innerhalb weniger Monate perfekt vor. Appel und Hein haben sie fast alle befragt, sämtliche verfügbaren Informationen über die beteiligten Manager zusammengetragen. Auch die später hinzugezogenen Experten – Rechtsanwälte, Investmentbanker und Aufsichtsräte – hat das fleißige Duo interviewt. Manche Charakterbeschreibung bleibt dabei an der Oberfläche, geht nicht über die allgemein kolportierten Klischees hinaus. Kein Wunder, die Autoren haben ihr Buch ebenfalls in rekordverdächtiger Zeit zusammengetragen.

Den wichtigsten Fragen aber, die der spektakuläre Coup aufwirft, haben sie sich gestellt: Wie gelang es, einen derart spektakulären Deal so lange geheimzuhalten? Weshalb lassen sich ausgerechnet zwei so erfolgreiche Unternehmen auf das Wagnis einer Fusion ein? Was unterscheidet die Unternehmenskultur von Daimler-Benz von derjenigen bei Chrysler? Weshalb wurde für DaimlerChrysler ausgerechnet die Rechtsform einer deutschen Aktiengesellschaft gewählt – wo doch Amerikaner die Mitbestimmung gemeinhin fürchten wie der Teufel das Weihwasser?

Natürlich bleibt offen, ob die nachträglich gesprächsbereiten Verschwörer wirklich die ganze Wahrheit und nichts als die gesagt haben. Sicher wird vieles erst ans Tageslicht kommen, wenn Jürgen Schrempp und Robert Eaton dereinst ihre Memoiren veröffentlichen. Völlig neue, überraschende Informationen können deshalb auch die Autoren nicht liefern. Dennoch ist es spannend, das Protokoll der Verhandlungen, die keineswegs immer glatt liefen, nachzuverfolgen.

Exakt 17 Minuten dauerte das entscheidende Gespräch zwischen Schrempp und Eaton am Rande der letztjährigen Detroit Motor Show, in dem der Daimler-Chef die Fusion anregte. Das war die Initialzündung für die Bildung eines Mammutkonzerns mit rund 260 Milliarden Mark Umsatz. Stolpersteine gab es genug: Fast wäre der Deal an der Uneinigkeit über den künftigen Firmennamen gescheitert. Erst als die Mercedes-Leute schweren Herzens auf das „Benz" verzichteten, durfte Daimler vor Chrysler stehen.

Inzwischen haben die fusionierten Konzerne weitere Klippen umschifft. Den ersten gemeinsamen Auftritt in Detroit 1999 haben sie bravourös hinter sich gebracht. Doch ob die versprochenen Synergieeffekte wirklich eintreten, ob der neue Konzern mehr ist als die Addition der beiden alten Unternehmen, müssen die Macher noch beweisen. Für Spannung ist in den nächsten Monaten allemal gesorgt: Kann sich Mercedes-Pkw-Chef Jürgen Hubbert wirklich dagegen wehren, daß ihm die Sparkünstler von der anderen Seite des Atlantiks billige Chrysler-Teile in seine Nobelkarossen hineinschmuggeln? Kann es ein Auto der Marke Chrysler tatsächlich schaffen, in Europa den VW Golfs und Opel Astras einzuheizen? Wie lassen sich Tempo und Effizienzdenken der Amerikaner mit Qualitätsideal und technologischem Niveau der Deutschen kreuzen, ohne daß dabei am Ende eine Mißgeburt herauskommt?

Solche Fragen kann auch das Buch von Appel und Hein nicht beantworten. Doch wer im weiteren Verlauf der Geschichte von DaimlerChrysler Anspruch und Realität vergleichen will, hat nach der Lektüre eine solide Basis.

Holger Appel/
Christoph Hein:
Der DaimlerChrysler-Deal
Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt,
Stuttgart 1998;
288 S., 39,80 DM

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Appendix 2

Course description

German Business Culture and Globalization
(German 392)
Spring 2003
Dr. Astrid Weigert, ICC 459, weigerta@georgetown.edu

Course Description

This course is a **Level V** undergraduate course with a content focus on the effects of globalization on German business and society. Students will gain insights into the underlying cultural dimensions of the world of business in today's Germany *and* simultaneously refine the sophistication of their language use within an academic context. The course explicitly emphasizes cross-cultural awareness and encourages students to draw on their background knowledge in related fields.

The **content focus** of the course is closely coupled with **language acquisition at an advanced level** that goes beyond the mere acquisition of business terminology. Therefore, the course structure follows a **theme and genre approach** in which each thematic unit emphasizes a particular genre.

- **Theme 1: International Mergers**
  Genre Focus: Book Review
  Proceeding from a case study of the DaimlerChrysler merger, we will look at challenges, successes and failures of large international mergers. In doing so, we will address differences in corporate and national culture between the US and Germany. Texts will progress from concrete examples of merger issues to more abstract and theoretical articles.

  The focus on the genre "book review" will sharpen students' abilities to evaluate and critique written texts.

- **Theme 2: Labor Relations**
  Genre Focus: Public Speech
  Labor relations differ greatly in the U.S. and Germany. Initially, we will compare the historical and cultural contexts for these differences. In a second step, we will turn to the current situation of labor unions in Germany and explore challenges to their relevance in an increasingly post-industrial society.

  The focus on the genre "public speech" will sharpen students' abilities to work with rhetorical devices, structure a text efficiently and the raise the level of audience awareness in their own speaking/writing.

- **Theme 3: The European Union: Current Issues**
  Genre Focus: Formal Interview
  One of the main challenges for the EU is the process of expansion, particularly eastward, to include countries from the former Eastern Bloc. We will follow the debate on inclusion/exclusion of particular countries. We will pay particular attention to the issue of labor migration.

  The focus on the genre "interview" will sharpen students' abilities to discern and use question and answer strategies employed in interviews, such as politeness devices, leading questions and evasion techniques.

Course materials: Text package from instructor

Assessment: Student performance and progress will be assessed continually throughout the semester. Therefore, absences will automatically have a negative impact on the grade.

Written homework assignments	20%
3 essays	30%
Oral presentations/discussion (group/individual)	20%
Class participation/preparation	30%

Appendix 3

Writing assignment sheet

German 392: German Business Culture and Globalization
Prof. A. Weigert
Spring 2003
Instructional Unit: International Mergers
Writing Assignment: Genre: Book Review

Task:

You are a journalist with an expertise in business and economics. As such, you have read a majority of relevant books and articles dealing with the DaimlerChrysler merger and international mergers in general. The renowned German weekly *Die Zeit* has asked you to submit a review of Peter Schneider's "Szenen einer Ehe" on the merger of the German and American automobile companies.

The following genre-specific elements need to structure your review article:

- Locating the text under review within the larger context of merger-related books and articles
- Brief background information on author
- Summary of content
- Evaluation of various aspects of article under review, such as content, style, etc.
- Summative evaluative statement

Content:

You will need to draw on all the articles of this unit for background knowledge.

Content will be assessed on the **quality and depth** with which the above-listed genre-specific elements are executed. The following questions for each generic element should be helpful:

- Contextualization: what other major articles and/or books have recently been published on the DaimlerChrysler merger? What new element does Schneider's text contribute or not? How relevant is Schneider's text for the topic of international mergers?
- Author background: what about the author's background is relevant for a review article? What qualifications does he have to write on the topic?
- Summary of content: conciseness of summary
- Evaluation: what are relevant aspects for evaluation? Why? How are evaluative statements supported?

- Summative statement at the end: How complex is the assessment?: Is it a clear-cut case or does it require qualified statements? How convincing is your final statement and how well supported?

Language Focus:

Discourse level:	competent use of discourse markers for description, summation, and evaluation
Sentence level:	complex syntax with a variety of subordinate clauses; particular focus on complex relative clauses for description
Lexicogrammatical level:	competent use of specialized, topic-relevant vocabulary; competent use of complex evaluative phrases

Length: 5 pages, double-spaced, typed; First draft due on _______________

Writing and Assessment Process:

Extensive feedback will be provided on first draft.
The categories "task", "content", and "language focus" will each receive a grade of **very good- good- fair- poor** and be weighted equally in the determination of the initial grade.

Depending on the quality and extent of the revision, your grade may improve by a maximum of two steps (e.g., from B to A–).

Appendix 4

Speaking assignment sheet

German 392: German Business Culture and Globalization
Prof. A. Weigert
Spring 2003
Instructional Unit: International Mergers
Speaking Assignment: Book Discussion Group

Task:

A new book discussion show, modeled on *Das literarische Quartett*, but dealing with books on economic, business, and political topics, has been inaugurated on one of the many new private channel on German TV. You have been invited to participate in the show. One of the texts under discussion is going to be Peter Schneider's "Szenen einer Ehe" which deals with the DaimlerChrysler merger. As a renowned journalist with an expertise in mergers, you have much to offer to this discussion and will participate in a lively exchange of ideas with a number of other experts.

Format:

The book discussion follows a prescribed format, in which each participant

- introduces him/herself in his/her role (expertise, profession, etc.)
- provides a brief, summative evaluation of the book under discussion.
- comments and presents counterarguments on statements by others
- reacts to statements appropriately (agreement, disagreement etc.)

The instructor will moderate the discussion.

Content:

The following aspects will be relevant:

- Conciseness of evaluative statement
- Breadth and depth of support for arguments
- Breadth and depth of background information on mergers

Language Focus:

Discourse level:	competent use of discourse markers for evaluation/opinion
Sentence level:	focus on verb position in subordinate clauses; some instances of subjunctive of indirect speech when quoting other participants
Lexicogrammatical level:	frequent and appropriate use of topic-relevant vocabulary; competent use of complex evaluative phrases
Mode of presentation:	speak as freely as possible (note cards only)
Assessment:	The categories "task", "content", and "language focus" will be assessed as very good—good—fair—poor and result in a letter grade.

Fostering Advanced-Level Language Abilities in Foreign Language Graduate Programs: Applications of Genre Theory

Cori Crane, Olga Liamkina, and Marianna Ryshina-Pankova

Abstract

Findings from two surveys (Spring 2002) regarding the perceived needs of graduate students from U.S. foreign language (FL) doctoral programs in fostering advanced second language (L2) development are discussed. Participants include thirteen FL graduate students, nine FL program coordinators, and one FL department chair. Analysis of the surveys reveals (1) the central role lower-level language teaching plays in FL graduate students' L2 development; (2) the need among graduate students to understand L2 ability in terms of contextualized language use; and (3) graduate students' desire for greater departmental support of their L2 abilities. The paper argues for the construct of genre *as a means for conceptualizing and promoting advanced-level language development. Genres graduate students will likely encounter as future members of the profession are presented. Two case studies of graduate students' experiences with the genre* précis *further illustrate how a genre approach can foster L2 academic abilities. General recommendations for FL graduate programs are offered.*

Introduction

Recent investigations into the professional demands placed on aspiring foreign language (FL) academics have highlighted the expectation that academic job seekers should possess "near-native" abilities in their second language (L2) (Koike and Liskin-Gasparro 1999). Because this requirement pertains in particular to non-native speakers of the target language(s) of the FL departments, and often assumes equivalent if not better abilities in English, what is at stake is not simply the knowledge of a language other than English, but rather the broader issue of academic literacy that is essential for membership in the professional FL community.[1] From the standpoint of professional integrity, the expectation on the part of FL departments that FL scholars and teachers ought to hold very advanced language abilities is hardly surprising. What is puzzling, however, is the fact that, by and large, FL graduate programs have not addressed the issue of developing the L2 abilities of their own graduate students. This is true despite long-standing calls for rethinking an understanding of the nature of language and central principles of language learning, most prominent in this discussion being the need to overcome the language-literature divide (Byrnes 1998; James 1989; Kern 2000, 2002; Swaffar 1991, 1998). These discussions, at least among FL pedagogues, have been limited essentially to the undergraduate level. Their curious absence in FL graduate education leaves one with the impression that graduate students are expected to have mastered the language abilities necessary for further study *prior* to entering their programs. Those who have not are to deal with language deficiencies on their own time and with their own monetary means (Valdés 1998). Indeed, graduate students are keenly aware of the lack of attention devoted to fostering L2 abilities in their programs, a point that was reiterated most recently in Koike and Liskin-Gasparro's (1999) study on the perceptions of graduate students and hiring committee members of Spanish departments regarding the MLA job listing requirement of "near-native proficiency."

While a replication of successful undergraduate FL programs is not necessarily the answer to this conundrum at the graduate level, an inclusive discussion which extends to the interests of graduate students by examining, and perhaps rethinking, central beliefs we hold regarding language and language learning may be a good start (Byrnes 2002b; Swaffar 1999). Steps in this direction have already been undertaken inasmuch as pervasive constructs like *near-native proficiency* and the ideal *native speaker* as the goals of FL education have been questioned within the larger FL teaching community (Byrnes 2002b; Garza 2003; Kerr 2003; Koike and Liskin-Gasparro 1999, 2003; Kramsch 1997; Train 2003; Valdés 1998).

Motivated in part by Koike and Liskin-Gasparro's study as well as our own recent departmental discussions regarding graduate students' FL development, we, as three graduate students, set out to examine in greater detail other graduate students' perceptions of their FL abilities and needs. Based on a survey that was conducted in Spring 2002, we examined statements from our peers representing other FL departments in the United States on their experiences with developing language abilities in their respective programs. More than anything, the responses we received allowed us to tap into the mental and discursive worlds that graduate students created over years of language study as to what constitutes and what leads to advanced L2 abilities. A central insight emerging from the survey findings is that graduate students require suitable frameworks to understand at the necessary level of specificity advanced-level language use and, by extension, advanced-level language learning. As our survey respondents suggest, both requirements can be met through consideration of the contexts of language use that are particular to academic and teaching domains.

Taking the survey responses as a starting point, we next turn our discussion to the literacy events that structure language use that graduate students are likely to engage in as future members of the profession. Here, we explore the idea of genre as a particularly advantageous way for conceptualizing and promoting advanced-level language development. Two of our own case studies, as they relate to the concerns brought up by our respondents, illustrate ways in which a genre approach can foster L2 abilities, particularly for academic registers located within the broader contexts of teaching and scholarship. These examples are not to be seen as simple band-aids to a phenomenon that, as theorists and practitioners both agree, occurs along a long developmental trajectory. Rather, they are to be taken as means for linking language use to situated practice, a concept, as we shall argue, that both faculty members and graduate students could adopt for individual and programmatic use.

We close our discussion with an outline of general recommendations for the FL field that may be incorporated into graduate programs. All of these suggestions are rooted in models of literacy and place emphasis on the generic conventions that make texts recognizable forms to their users.

The Survey

Methodology and Participants

In Spring 2002, we administered a survey investigating the issue of departmental support of students' advanced L2 abilities from two perspectives: that of graduate students on the one hand and of FL program coordinators and FL department chairs (FLCs) on the other. Approximately two hundred FL coordinators and chairs of U.S. university FL departments offering doctoral degrees in foreign languages and literatures[2] were contacted and asked to respond to a survey eliciting information about their graduate programs, perceptions of what constitutes advanced-level language abilities, and the departmental practices of L2 support (for the FL coordinator and department chair version of the survey, see Appendix 1). Coordinators and chairs were also asked to pass the electronic questionnaires on to those graduate students in their departments who are non-native speakers of the department's target language (for the graduate student version of the survey, see Appendix 2). The graduate student questionnaire was more extensive than that of the FLCs and probed students' self-perception of their L2 abilities,[3] asked them to describe their experiences with the L2 in their graduate programs, and inquired about departmental practices of L2 support. It also elicited biographical and general program information. In order to have a basis for comparison, we included several parallel questions on both surveys: they pertain to the desired L2 abilities of the graduate students and to the ways the departments help students achieve these abilities.[4]

Thirteen graduate students from seven large research institutions,[5] nine FL coordinators, and one FL department chair representing ten different large research universities responded to the survey. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the respondents' target language emphases, as well as the academic departments represented.

Table 1

Survey Participants: FL Graduate Students, FL Coordinators, and FL Department Chairs

	FL Graduate Students[6]	**FL Coordinators**	**FL Dept. Chairs**
Number of respondents	13	9	1
Number of institutions represented within group	7	9	1
Academic departments represented	German (7) Slavic languages (3) Romance languages (2) Near Eastern languages (1)	German (4) Romance languages (4) Near Eastern languages (1)	German (1)
L2s studied at graduate level	Arabic, French, German, Russian, Spanish	Arabic, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Persian, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish	German
Native languages of respondents	English (10) German (1) Hungarian (1) Polish (1)	---	---

Results and Discussion

Although the number of responses precludes any statistical analyses of significance, important patterns from our data do emerge, and it is for this reason that we proceed with a discussion of some of the key findings.

A. Graduate Students' Evaluation of their Language Abilities

Most students surveyed (11 of 13) note an overall improvement in their L2 abilities since beginning their graduate studies. Such development is most often characterized by increases in vocabulary (particularly academic), improved understanding and use of grammar, ability to address a wider variety of topics, and improved reading comprehension (particularly of academic texts). Teaching, study abroad, reading academic texts, and speaking to native speakers are the major activities that students report as contributing to their language development. Coursework, however, remains absent from this list, a finding that is confirmed by most students' admission that they do not use the L2 in class (see the next section for further discussion). In fact, limited opportunities for writing and speaking in the L2 on academic subjects have, according to one student, led to a deterioration of his speaking abilities.

In terms of students' self-assessment of their language abilities, a clear differentiation between the receptive and productive modalities is evident (see Table 2). Listening and reading are characterized by almost all students as their strongest abilities, while over half place their speaking and writing abilities lower on the scale of relative strength.

Table 2

Students' Self-Ratings of their Relative Strength in the Four Modalities of L2 Use

	Listening	Reading	Speaking	Writing
Very strong	11	10	5	4
Strong	2	2	3	4
Moderate		1	5	4
Weak				1

Note: In all tables, numbers in columns refer to the number of respondents who checked this category.

When graduate students are asked to evaluate their strengths in the L2 use along two major contexts that are presumably expected of them in their FL departments, namely informal (i.e., speaking with friends, writing personal letters, or reading "for pleasure") versus academic (i.e., writing papers for coursework or reading academic texts), they tend to view their ability to communicate in informal contexts as much stronger than in formal or public ones across three modalities[7] (see Table 3).

Table 3
Students' Self-Ratings of their L2 Abilities in Two Types of Contexts

	Academic Writing	Informal Writing	Academic Speaking	Informal Speaking	Academic Reading	Reading "For Pleasure"
(a) Very good	1	6	2	8	5	9
(b) Good	6	6	5	4	6	4
(c) Satisfactory	1		3		2	
(d) Needs improvement	3		3	1		
(e) Not applicable	2	1				

Elsewhere in the survey, students were asked to elaborate on the evaluation of their own L2 abilities. Interestingly, at this point none of the respondents differentiated between contexts of use. Instead, language abilities tended to be assessed in a global manner, and primarily in terms of modality, grammar, and phonetics. The following two responses from the graduate student surveys illustrate this point:

> "Near-native accent, some grammar errors."
>
> "Good knowledge of grammar, culture, colloquial German [...], history, make grammar mistakes when I speak [...], nervous to write but good at writing in German, reading and listening comprehension is great, wide passive vocab[ulary]."

This finding poses an interesting contrast to the responses tabulated in Table 3 where the survey question itself had differentiated between various contexts of modality and domains of use. It is worth pondering why the general questions regarding students' self-assessment of their proficiency in the L2 yielded relatively little insight into their language abilities as being affected by contexts of use. The responses to the open-ended questions of language proficiency may reveal more than anything a lack of an appropriate *conceptual* framework for graduate students to discuss advanced-level L2 learning and abilities, let alone suitable language to characterize them. Without such a framework, students are left without effective strategies for addressing perceived shortcomings on their own and for demanding targeted help from their departments.

It would appear, thus, that the first step in conceptualizing language proficiency must involve a consideration of the *contexts* of language use, both current and future. The discussion of the survey responses in the next section illustrates what these contexts might be, as identified by both FLCs and graduate students.

B. Opportunities to Use the L2

First, FLCs and graduate students tended to differ in the areas identified as contexts in which students would eventually need to use the L2 in their professional lives. FLCs expect graduate students to be able to use the L2 upon completion of their Ph.D. programs in a variety of academic and professional contexts, such as language and literature teaching, conducting research and writing for publication, professional communication, departmental life, and giving conference presentations in the United States and in L2 academic communities. Graduate students (12 of 13), by contrast, indicate college-level teaching as the main context in which they expect to use the L2. Relatively few graduate students (3 of 13) note the expectation of conducting research and communicating with colleagues, or presenting academic papers in the L2. These results are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4
Expected Contexts of L2 Use after Completion of the Graduate Program
(Survey question administered to faculty and graduate students)

	FL Coordinators (N=10)	Graduate Students (N=13)
1. Teaching	9	12
2. Research and publication	6	3
3. Communicating with colleagues, departmental life	6	3
4. Conference presentations	4	2

The importance students attribute to teaching as the primary and, for many, the *only* context for use of the L2 in future professional settings appears to reflect the departmental practices the students currently observe and in which they participate in their own programs. As Table 5 shows, teaching stands out as the main domain of current L2 use identified by our student informants.

Table 5
Contexts in Which Graduate Students Use the L2
(1—very infrequently, 5—very frequently)
(Survey question administered to graduate students only)

	1	2	3	4	5	N/A
1. Teaching			1		12	
2. Professional reading		1	4	2	6	
3. Personal reading	1	3	1	3	5	
4. Jobs in which target language is used	3	1	2		3	4
5. Conversations with professors	3	5	2	1	2	
6. E-mailing/letter writing	5	2	4	1	1	
7. Conversations with friends	3	2	5	2	1	
8. Graduate courses	4	4	2	2	1	

Note: A "not applicable" (N/A) category was added by the respondents.

All thirteen graduate student respondents report having taught undergraduate-level courses, the majority indicating classes at the first two years of undergraduate instruction,[8] and only two having taught through the first three years of their undergraduate programs (introductory through advanced courses). Despite teaching primarily at introductory and intermediate levels, the majority of respondents (8) indicate that teaching was helpful to the overall development of their L2 abilities. This finding highlights the importance graduate students ascribe to teaching opportunities for their own language use, a view that is echoed in accounts of student teaching within FL environments (Byrnes, Crane, and Sprang 2002). At the same time, however, this result necessarily raises the question of how *advanced* language abilities that are needed to function in academic and public contexts can be developed through teaching lower level courses. If teaching at the lower level is the primary and most frequent contact with the L2, graduate students' opportunities to develop a level of language use that moves beyond the "primary discourses" (Gee 1990) of familiar, everyday life are inherently limited (Byrnes, Crane, and Sprang 2002; Koike and Liskin-Gasparro 1999).

Striking among the contexts of use cited is the role of graduate course work, which according to many informants does not elicit use of the L2. This finding is corroborated by answers to subsequent sections of the survey, in which graduate student informants from three different departments disclose in greater detail the role that English plays as the main language of communication in their FL departments. As one informant notes, the "chances to practice academic [L2] are few and far between because of this." A more or less even split between the number of courses in the L2 and in English is reported by students from three other departments, and only one informant asserts that courses in her department are generally conducted in the L2. Two major reasons for the use of English in the classroom are cited: the interdisciplinarity of courses to include students from other departments and the convention to publish and present at conferences in English rather than in the L2. Furthermore, many of the student informants comment that native speaker professors of the L2 tend to conduct their classes in the L2, while English-speaking professors do so in English.

The reported dominance of English in the classroom carries over into the language used in fulfillment of course requirements. Most graduate students choose to write their course papers in English (11 of 13), despite an option for the L2. Several reasons for students' language choice are cited, ranging from a low comfort level communicating in the L2 to the comparatively greater ease and quality of work in English. Two respondents further point to the pressure to write in English in academic contexts in their graduate programs. As one states: "I know of no other foreign language program in which students are practically encouraged to write papers in English."

None of the students who opt to write at least some papers in the L2 (6 out of 13) report having been given any specific instructions or models for language use. Rather, they received feedback on content only (3 of 13) or on language use limited to sentence-level grammatical errors (3 of 13). A similar picture emerges in students' oral presentations in class: over half of the informants present exclusively in English. Again, no individuals claim to have received any language-specific feedback or guidance in these speaking events in either language.

C. Evaluation of Language Support in Graduate Programs

Despite their high expectations of L2 use among graduate students, half of the FLCs report that their departments provide no or not enough support for academic language development, with no or very few courses taught in the L2 and no "graduate language courses." This estimation largely corresponds to that provided by the graduate students, many of whom express a desire for more language support in their programs. However, not all students are discontent with what their departments offer. Some report satisfaction at receiving linguistic support in seminars, having to pass language tests, and being able to attend language-oriented courses offered by the department.

As reported by all faculty and many graduate student respondents, financial support to send students abroad or to language summer schools constitutes the primary means for departments to further the linguistic development of their graduate students. As one FLC respondent states: such support constitutes "the single most helpful aspect of their [students'] language maintenance in the program." Another FLC, however, suggests that the overreliance on study abroad among FL departments may reveal a lack of adequate knowledge and experience on the part of the language coordinators in teaching graduate-level courses that would promote students' further linguistic development. The responses of graduate students and FLCs appear to echo Valdés' (1998) concern that students "are expected to take care of their continued language learning on their own" (p. 7) by arranging to go for research or study abroad in the L2 countries, though with assistance from their programs.

While opportunities for study abroad were deemed especially valuable in reaching desired levels of language ability in the L2, no specific details were provided as to what such experiences might actually entail. This is somewhat troubling given the relatively sparse literature on the linguistic effects of study abroad. More information is needed in understanding the role that formal instruction plays within abroad settings, as well as the different discourse communities, particularly academic ones, that are available to language learners in the L2 environment. Furthermore, there is emerging evidence that marked deceleration of linguistic growth may occur upon return from study abroad (Coleman et al. 1994, as reported in Freed 1995), pointing to the responsibility of well-devised programmatic efforts to sustain and develop language abilities *after* study abroad. Thus, blanket recommendations to study abroad for graduate students may reveal a sort of avoidance strategy on the part of FL departments to take responsibility for their students' linguistic development.

The majority of students and some faculty members favor departmental support of graduate students' development of their L2 abilities. Here are comments from two graduate students who would welcome increased attention to advanced language development:

> "I feel language support should be considered critical. Everything else we are learning to do (teach, read and write about literature) depends on a sound knowledge of the target language."
>
> "I think it should be a larger component. On the job market we are expected to have near native proficiency, which we have to [ac]quire in addition to getting a graduate education. The department could provide more help with that."

Faculty responses advocating this position see the provision of means for furthering linguistic development in the L2 *and* English as critical for both effective future teaching on the part of today's graduate students and professional credibility of graduate programs. However, two other positions represented by faculty express reluctance for programs to become involved. One group views it appropriate in the American academic context for departments to offer most courses and require students to write course papers in English. This appears to stem from the belief that students enter graduate programs primarily to develop research skills and to appropriate content knowledge, language not being an issue. Reminiscent of bifurcated programs within FL departments that offer separate language and content courses, this view presents a model of knowledge that ignores the linguistic means that are central to shaping and expressing this knowledge in the L2 discourse community. A second group argues that graduate students should enter doctoral programs with sufficiently advanced language skills, thereby rendering the need for subsequent language support superfluous. This position, however, reveals an expectation that has been characterized as unrealistic and troublesome, considering the extremely short, at least from the language acquisition standpoint, but typical four-year long undergraduate study period for L2 majors (Byrnes 1998).

So, what is it that graduate students desire in their FL programs? Several respondents believe that courses and the requirement of writing papers in the L2 would be a good start. Many wish for stylistic feedback on their written work. Several suggest advanced-level language workshops and courses integrated into the departmental curriculum, and not just from allied summer language programs. Concrete suggestions include "Academic Discourse in the L2" or "Writing in the Academy" courses where students are introduced to the field of academic writing and publishing practices in their L2. Others call for testing students, particularly in the beginning of the program, to assess their L2 abilities and offer suggestions for improvement. Several students indicate that providing more financial support would expand students' opportunities to improve their language abilities outside of the department.[9]

To summarize, we see that teaching lower-level language courses is the primary context for L2 use and is considered a site for graduate students' language development, whereas their own graduate coursework plays a considerably lesser role and in fact is frequently absent as a context for L2 use or learning. Only when prompted do students identify strong and weak areas of their language use and ability in terms of situations and contextualized uses of language. Finally, some graduate students and faculty express concern that their departments are not doing enough to foster students' language development, leading to the desire among the majority of graduate students for more support from their departments in developing their language abilities, though the exact shape of this support varies. It is with these findings pointing to an understanding of language and language learning based in contextualized use that we now turn to the notion of genre for further discussion.

Conceptualizing Language Support for Graduate Students: A Case for Genre

Beyond the issues that were directly probed in the questionnaires, analysis of the responses reveals notions of language learning rooted in the traditional bifurcation of language and content. While only one graduate student rejected outright any practice that would incorporate language features into the graduate FL classroom, stating, "[graduate] seminars are not a space for language pedagogy," the suggestions put forth by other informants point to a view of language and content as discrete entities: language is conceived of as playing a supplementary and subordinate role to content. Consequently, although language support at the graduate level is seen as important for acquisition of disciplinary knowledge (e.g., through independent "stylistics" courses), it is nevertheless regarded as a separate activity from that of conducting serious research in particular content areas.[10]

This separation of language and content mirrors the existence of two well-known autonomous domains of instruction in FL programs: language and literature. As others have noted (Byrnes 1998; James 1989; Kern 2000; Swaffar 1991), a hierarchical relationship between the two pushes content to the more advanced end of foreign language study, leaving language issues to be dealt with at the beginning levels. This view is reflected in the nonacademic and sometimes unserious suggestions provided by some of our survey respondents. Although using the language in everyday situations, such as foreign language tables, as put forth by some informants, undoubtedly provides for comfortable and valuable opportunities to use the L2, it is unlikely to lead to a professional L2 proficiency level. In any case, such suggestions only reaffirm the secondary role of language in FL departments.[11]

By contrast, a social-semiotic perspective (Christie 1989; Halliday 1993; Vygotsky 1978) that sees the creation of knowledge and the development of cognitive skills as dependent on language offers a useful construct for FL departments to understand and conceptualize the connection between content and language. In recent years, a number of linguistic scholars have pointed to this very relationship, representing both ontogenetic and phylogenetic perspectives. Halliday (1993) and Hasan (1996b) in their research on L1 language learning explain the nature of the simultaneous mental and linguistic development that occurs in response to the needs of an individual to interpret experience, to have this interpretation validated by others, and finally to express this experience in discourse. From a phylogenetic viewpoint, research by Bazerman (1998), Halliday and Martin (1993), and Myers (1992) reveals that the construction of knowledge, such as seen in scientific theories or historical descriptions, does not merely reflect reality, but is a result of an active sense-making that occurs within a specific social context, i.e., against the background of common values, practices and beliefs, *and* in a shared language. Thus, language as it is used in the social interactions of particular disciplines directly impacts the creation of knowledge and is inseparable from rhetorical, i.e., linguistic, processes bearing traces of these interactions (Hyland 2000).

Drawing on this epistemology, it becomes apparent that graduate studies in languages, literature, and culture offer a particularly opportune site for examining the discursive nature of knowledge construction, that is, the complex relationships between authors, audiences, purposes, ideologies, and ideas manifested in the linguistic choices made within texts. From this standpoint, then, advanced-level language learning must be considered inseparable from the appropriation of knowledge.

In recent years, genre theory has been used as a way to conceptualize the relationship between content, language, and participants in discourse. One of the earlier attempts to formulate this connection can be traced back to Bakhtin (1986) and his contribution to the notion of the *speech genre*. According to Bakhtin, every social activity involves language use that is not random, but instead relates to such contextual variables as participants and goals. He observes that this connection is realized in all aspects of language use: from choice of lexical and grammatical features to the organization of utterances. Moreover, since the activity types recur in society, language use associated with a particular activity is also of a recurrent nature. Through iterative language used in a particular situation, stable and mandatory patterns of use called "speech genres" gradually take shape.

This view of language through the construct of genre has found great resonance in language learning theory and practice across secondary and post-secondary educational contexts such as *The New Rhetoric*, *English for Specific Purposes* (ESP), and *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (SFL) (Hyon 1996). While varying somewhat in their linguistic and content foci, as well as in instructional approaches, these orientations all share an understanding of genre that is based on the *typicality* of rhetorical and linguistic features as they relate to particular *communicative purposes* of texts residing in particular discourse communities. From this stems a major goal of genre theorists, particularly of SFL researchers: to provide learners from less dominant discourse communities access to the dominant discourses that privilege specific generic conventions.

For academic registers, the larger framework of genre has proven to be a productive way of highlighting the role of language for pedagogical purposes. Two related fields, *English for Specific Purposes* (ESP) and *English for Academic Purposes* (EAP) have made major contributions in relaying success stories of advanced-level learner development by focusing on particular professional and academic disciplines in a functional manner and assessing linguistic development within the context of well-specified expectations and goals (Johns 2002; Swales 1990). More concretely, a number of studies have suggested using genre-based approaches to language pedagogy as a means for creating and structuring lessons (Adam and Artemeva 2002; Flowerdew 2002) and introducing students to linguistic patterns that give voice to their own specific disciplines (Celce-Murcia 2002; Dudley-Evans 2002; Guleff 2002; Martin 1993; Schleppegrell 2002). Within this tradition, analyses tend to focus on rhetorical structures as well as syntactical and lexical choices as they relate to specific communicative purposes.

With their functional orientation towards language, applications of genre theory in many ways resemble those of pragmatics and speech act theory found in the rather large body of interlanguage and cross-cultural pragmatics studies (Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz 1985; Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989; Boxer 2002; Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993; Kasper and Schmidt 1996). While these two broad fields share many commonalities, they also diverge, particularly regarding aspects of advanced-level academic language use. The pragmatic emphasis on the properties of interactants (e.g., their negative and positive face) and on the assumed social factors that affect the strategies participants choose in constructing speech acts, including social distance, relative power, and absolute ranking of impositions in a particular culture, parallels the treatment of interpersonal relations entailed in genre theory. However, as applied pragmatics tends to focus on participants' discourse strategies and specific speech acts in primarily conversational settings, aspects of context other than the interpersonal are backgrounded or even excluded from analysis. This includes the role of language itself as a structuring and organizing device. By contrast, genre theory addresses the essential components needed in the construction of knowledge and incorporates the broader context of culture through analysis of the three aspects of situation, i.e., content, participants, and the role of language. In other words, interlanguage pragmatic studies are particularly adept at capturing the social dimensions of casual conversation and narratives, and genre theory seems more suited to bettering graduate students' L2 academic discourse abilities.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that a genre approach is not without its own limitations. As Pennycook (1996) argues, when a static and prescriptive view of genre is implemented in pedagogy, it may fail to appropriately address diversity and difference, which can lead to uncritical reproduction of texts. It is, however, precisely the explicit teaching of generic conventions that empowers both L1 and L2 learners, by providing them access to the dominant L1 or L2 discourses. This access becomes possible inasmuch as such a pedagogy understands that creativity, reflexivity, and critique are communicatively most effective when they follow the conventions of genre. This suggests that learners should master these patterns first in order to be able to further appropriate and even question or subvert the very genres in which such conventions appear. Therefore, a genre-based instructional model can and should incorporate a reflexive stance towards dominant genres by guiding the questioning of the underlying assumptions and ideologies tied to their texts (Cope and Kalantzis 1993; Hasan 1996a; Kress 1993). As Hasan (1996a) recommends, learners should be encouraged "to ask why the said is being said, what it implies, and on what grounds [...]; whose point of view does the writing represent [...]; why it [the text] is structured the way it is; [and] what would change, for whom and at what price, if the structure were to be changed" (p. 411).

To summarize, critical study of genre can advance disciplinary knowledge through the investigation of generic language patterns as they are situated in terms of content and positioned in particular role relationships characteristic of the prevailing disciplinary discourse(s). Since discourses are always ideologically determined, studying genres and discovering their underlying assumptions means learning how individuals in a foreign culture or in various disciplines think and act. Thus, looking to the genres that characterize specific disciplines may offer much in terms of understanding the culturally laden linguistic choices that make texts appropriate for their users.

Genre as Context of Culture

As we have outlined above, thinking of language use within the framework of genre allows one to see the culturally determined practices that shape individuals as members of particular discourse communities. From this standpoint, rather than viewing graduate students' language abilities across a band of general contexts of everyday life, it may be more productive to think of their language use as situated within the authentic genres that are likely to constitute their lives as academics. Work in register analysis, particularly within the field of corpus linguistics, has begun to explore the types of texts that are presently found within English-speaking academic environments (Biber et al. 2002). To our knowledge, however, no such analyses involving texts typically used in FL departments in the United States have been undertaken.

Considering that most of our respondents cited needed practice in the productive modalities of the L2, we have collected what SFL theory has labeled a *genre potential*, i.e., "all the linguistically-achieved activity types recognized as meaningful (i.e., appropriate) in a given culture" (Eggins 1994, pp. 34–5), for all spoken and written texts that FL academics might be expected to produce in their respective L2s. Table 6 provides an overview of academic genres that should be available to graduate students in the humanities for productive use in the L2, though certainly not an exhaustive list and one that would be expected to change as old genres continue to change form and new ones evolve.[12]

Table 6

Genres in the L2 Appearing within U.S. FL Academia (for Productive Use)

	Spoken	Written
Monologic	• Job talks/presentations • Lectures • Teaching (dependent on task, language level, course focus, teaching style, etc.) • Presentations of departmental issues (e.g., of courses, projects, policies)	• Dissertations • Academic articles for publication in books, journals • Book reviews, review articles • Annotated bibliographies • Books • Abstracts (for presentations and publications) • Grant and fellowship proposals (including summaries of research focus) • Correspondence (e.g., to visiting scholars, institutions with exchanges) • Academic CVs
Dialogic	• Job/MLA interviews • Teaching (e.g., class discussion, role-playing; dependent on task, language level, course focus, teaching style, etc.) • Discussions with colleagues, students (formal, e.g., advising sessions) • Discussions with colleagues, students (informal, e.g., discussions in hall) • Question-answer sessions of presentations • Panel discussions	• E-mail discussions (in groups, i.e., for list-serves in field, with classes) • E-mail correspondence

As expected, these genres appear primarily within the realms of research and teaching.[13] Due to the great variation in individual and departmental teaching practices, as well as differences in language levels and content foci of individual courses, it is difficult to delineate any further specific genres found in teaching. However, looking to the other genres that constitute FL academic life, it becomes clear that specialized academic content areas are mapped across a myriad of configurations involving various role relationships, such as critic/reader, lecturer/audience (i.e., student, colleague, employer), proposer/judge, and commentator/respondent. In other words, it is particularly in the range of interactions in terms of participant roles that these genres differ most widely.

Studying a list such as the one above can prompt FL departments to specify those academic practices involving use of the L2, and then create for their graduate students occasions in which they can hone and develop advanced-level language abilities in a variety of genres and professional environments, representing teaching, scholarship, and service. Before such deliberations can take place, however, textual properties of relevant genres must be well understood (Freedman 1993, 1994, as cited in Hyon 1996; Hasan 1996a). As applied linguists have shown, (Swales and Najjar 1987, as cited in Paltridge 2002), handbooks and manuals pertaining to particular written genres are for the most part not based on actual text analyses and often miss important aspects of textual conventions. Therefore, finding appropriate models for spoken and written discourse, upon which explicit instruction can be built, should be central to a genre-based pedagogy.

Ideally, a discussion of genre potential for curricular and pedagogical action would involve consulting all participants within a program, including most importantly its graduate students, in determining specific language needs. Occasions for practice may involve teaching advanced-level classes, presenting information to the department, and writing and publishing in the L2. They do not, however, have to translate into exact emulation of genres provided in the table. In fact, helpful exercises may involve working with the "classroom genres" (Johns 1995) that contain some of the same generic elements as those found in the real-life tasks of the FL profession, or becoming familiar with the "occluded genres," such as the *submission letter*, that support the more predominant genres of the academy (Swales 1996). To ensure that students appropriately transfer knowledge of genres across tasks within the academic FL field, a clear delineation of the communicative purposes of classroom and authentic genres influencing linguistic and content choices would need to be provided in instruction (Johns 1995). In the following two case studies, we track the path of such a classroom genre, the *précis*, through our own graduate studies, showing how its textual properties cross paths with some of those found in the genres listed in Table 6 in terms of communicative purposes, audiences, and stylistic conventions.

In the first case study, Marianna Ryshina-Pankova discusses how explicit instruction of the features of the genre *précis* in a graduate literature class helped her in developing her writing style for subsequent work in the same course. In the second case study, Cori Crane relates how knowledge of the *précis* has proven valuable across language learning contexts throughout her graduate education.

Case Study #1: Developing Cognitive and Linguistic Abilities through the Genre of Précis (Marianna Ryshina-Pankova)

In the first year of my graduate study, I was given the choice to compose a paper in English or German (the L2 of the department) and opted to write in the L2. I received my paper back with detailed and useful comments regarding its content and a short evaluation of the language that rendered my style as simplistic. In a subsequent discussion of the paper, the professor restored my confidence by saying that my style would improve as a result of reading research articles in the L2 and automatic emulation of the discourse strategies and high register expression that would ensue from it. While I tried to imitate the proper academic style in my later work, I found it difficult to see the specific elements on which I should focus. In a following semester, however, I received *explicit* instruction on how to draw on academic articles as a source for writing research papers, both in terms of content and appropriate language use.

In Spring 2001, I took a course on German autobiographical fiction, which covered works by major contemporary authors and included theoretical readings on contemporary literary criticism. The purpose of the secondary readings, as was explicitly stated by the instructor, was not only to establish a critical discourse for discussing primary texts, but also to serve as a basis for oral and written assignments designed to practice academic discourse in the L2.

Among the various assignments for the course, we were required to write a précis of an academic article. (For extensive discussion of the précis as a template for pedagogical action, see Swaffar, this volume.) The instructor first introduced the students to the concept of précis, then asked us to write our own in the L2, to which she provided detailed feedback in terms of content, rhetorical organization, and expression. Finally, the instructor presented her own précis on the same article as a model, which generated further discussion of the genre in class.

The précis, or critical summary, is a widespread academic genre. Casanave and Hubbard (1992) found it to be the most frequent type of writing assignment administered by the humanities and social sciences faculty at their university (Stanford). The purpose of a précis exceeds the goals of a simple summary of the text's main ideas. Rather it exposes subtle links between the communicative intentions of the author, its audiences, content, and argumentative structure via specific language use. Thus, it requires analysis and synthesis of the main ideas, detailed observation of how these ideas are instantiated through structural, linguistic, and rhetorical means, and evaluation and critique of the argument in view of its communicative task and in relation to the issues of one's own disciplinary interest.

The instructor presented the genre as consisting of three moves. The first part included a brief summary of the main ideas highlighted in the text and as situated against particular academic disciplines, cultural contexts, and intended audiences. In terms of language use, this activity required, on the one hand, complete familiarity with specific vocabulary of the article, to allow for manipulation of the text for the purpose of a condensed summary, and on the other, the ability to use certain rhetorical expressions to present the author's ideas, such as the following:

> Der/die Autor(in) setzt sich mit dem Thema auseinander, indem...
> *The author problematizes the topic by/through...*
>
> Der/die Autor(in) erörtert ...
> *The author discusses...*

The class received a list of these expressions in the L2 to clarify the meaning and use of terms appearing in the articles in class.

The second part of the précis included commentary on the organizational structure of the article. Students were encouraged to expose the macrostructure of the article by identifying important discourse markers in the text and categorizing them according to chronological, argumentative, or descriptive structures. Furthermore, students looked at the microstructure that included expression of comparison and contrast, illustration by example, and reference to other authors. The instructor provided language scaffolding to refresh students' memory of the expressions in the L2 that identify organizational moves:

> Der Autor behandelt das Thema, indem er ...x (acc.) y (dat.) gegenüberstellt.
> x (acc.) und y (acc.) miteinander vergleicht.
>
> *The author handles the topic by contrasting/comparing x and y.*

Work on this part allowed the graduate students not only to become aware of the organizational patterns and their L2 linguistic realizations employed in the research article, but also to engage in a reflective discussion on this matter and use meta-expressions in their commentary.

The third part of the précis contained reflection on the article's implications and its evaluation. In this section, students were asked to show the relevance of the article to their own understanding of a topic area and draw parallels to other course readings. Here again, scaffolding of linguistic expression was made available by acquainting students with the lexico-grammatical structures appropriate for rendering personal opinion in academic discourse, for offering criticism, or pointing out advantages of a text:

> Indem der Autor x mit y vergleicht, gibt er zu verstehen interpretiert er ...
> *By comparing x and z the author makes clear/offers an interpretation ...*
>
> Für mich ergibt sich daraus ...
> *This indicates (to me) ...*

Writing a précis in this course helped students as future literary scholars become aware and reflect on the important issues in literary criticism and ways in which they are discussed. The students, however, also profited as learners of the language. By writing critical summaries in the L2 they had an opportunity to use specific vocabulary typical of literary criticism discourse or of particular topic areas within it and to practice meta-language expressions necessary for framing one's commentary and critique of these ideas. The benefits of learning how to write a précis extended beyond this particular course for me. Allowing for critical conceptualization of secondary literature, the précis has become a building block in writing research papers or book-reviews for other classes. Moreover, as I prepared for my comprehensive exams, I became very aware of the knowledge that I had gained from work with the précis, particularly as I compiled my annotated bibliography for books in the L2.

Case Study #2: Transferring Linguistic Conventions across Genre Types (Cori Crane)

The second case study describes my experience of drawing upon knowledge of genre in my L1 (English) and my L2 (German) to give a formal presentation in German. In pointing to a few key activities throughout my graduate education that helped me prepare for this event, I describe how language abilities were transferred across tasks to meet the needs of the increasingly more independent roles accorded to each speaking event.

In Fall 2001, I presented to visiting administrative officials from our sister exchange institution abroad a short outline of a Business German course that I had taught the previous summer in our university's study abroad program. In the presentation, three instructors were asked to describe advanced-level German courses that were offered in our program, placing particular emphasis on how they relate to the larger goals of our department's curriculum. Two professors and I were asked to speak in German each for ten minutes on three different courses.

Presentation of courses has become a standard practice in our department since its undergraduate curriculum reform. Typically conducted in English and varying slightly in content and form, instructors provide a brief summary of the focus of the course, followed by specifics on course goals, content and materials, tasks, and evaluation criteria and procedures. Reference to the goals and learner profiles associated with the particular language level in question (usually the upper advanced-level courses in our curriculum) clarifies how new or revamped courses fit in with the established curricular goals. In addition to *describing* and *referring*, this spoken genre entails *justifying* decisions regarding course changes and plans. Indeed, a question-and-answer period follows the presentation and often revolves around the rationale for such components as reading lists, tasks, and general emphases of the course.

Having had exposure to the rhetorical structure and the purposes of this genre, even in the L1, was helpful in preparing me for the particular event before our foreign university visitors. My ability to create a coherent and cohesive whole in the L2 was further aided by the preparation I had received in the genre of *précis*, serving as a model for both written and spoken discourse.

During Georgetown's DAAD 1998 summer institute for advanced-level learners (see Byrnes 2002a for an account of this program) I was first introduced to the *précis*. There, I became familiar with its communicative purpose of concise summary and evaluation through the reconstruction of textual arguments. In particular, emphasis was placed on developing awareness and use of cohesive markers necessary in delineating precisely the relationships between statements in texts. The concerted effort of combing through L2 texts in search of these discourse markers and sharing the information with other participants in the seminar allowed me to develop an ability to produce a précis, as well as use its structural elements for oral presentations of the same material, an exercise that was explicitly linked to the development of written abilities in the summer institute.

Three years later, I began teaching "Text in Context," an advanced-level course located at the fourth semester of intensive instruction (after 18 credit hours), whose explicit goal was to challenge students to develop German academic literacy abilities. As instructor for this course, I once more had practice and exposure to the genre of *précis* and its oral variation. This time, however, I was in the position of instructor instead of student. My new role entailed now modeling the behavior for my students, as well as providing them with ample introduction to the task at hand and explicit feedback regarding various versions of their drafts. Preceding the written version of the précis was an oral presentation of the same material, with special attention devoted to linking the arguments of the text via discourse markers so as to frame the information in a succinct and articulate manner. The activity involved the use of such rhetorical moves like introducing a topic, citing authors, enumerating arguments, comparing and contrasting, and expressing opinion. Students were asked to incorporate these features in their oral presentations as appropriate, having at hand only the bare arguments and chunks of vocabulary important for triggering their memory of the text.[14]

In my presentation before the university visitors and departmental members, I found myself relying on some of the same organizational patterns that I had learned in the summer institute and passed on to my own students in subsequent German classes to give structure to my presentation. Using an overhead projector to show an outline of my points, I was able to give my ideas coherence, explicitly linking them through the learned discourse markers.

Transferring the linguistic know-how of presenting in the L2 from the classroom to a public, professional setting was made possible in great part due to the mentoring I received in my department. As Belcher (1994) maintains in her case studies of three ESL graduate students' academic literacy development, it is not only the mentor but also the *discourse community* in which graduate students are apprenticing that impacts their ability to succeed as future members of the profession. In terms of being able to speak in front of and act as a representative of my department, the high level of confidence that professors involved in this project expressed in me and in particular their openness to work with me prior to the event, was paramount for success in this talk. Along similar lines, I have been fortunate to be able to develop language abilities in progressively more formal contexts throughout my graduate education. This highlights the importance of finding a balance between giving students opportunities for academic-like discourse practice in the L2 and the necessary scaffolding that takes place prior to such occasions.

Looking back at this one experience, I see many elements as having contributed to my language development. First, having our out-of-town guests from the L2 culture provided a real-life need to communicate in the L2 at an academic discourse level. Second, this opportunity was made possible because I had already taught an upper advanced-level class. Related to this were the varied, and layered, opportunities—as student, teacher, and finally departmental representative—to work with language features characteristic of academic language in the L2. Third, I was supported by professors and native speaker graduate students who were willing to help me in preparation for the talk. Finally, as the department accords pedagogy a scholarly, professional status, I was able to link the spoken and written formal, established genres found in our departmental culture (i.e., curriculum documents, handbooks, and formal presentations) to the communicative purpose at hand.

While this experience may appear unique in some respects for a graduate student, it is in many ways representative of the contexts in which graduate students will be expected to function upon their entry into the profession. To help make this professional transition smooth, engagement with more real-life opportunities to communicate in the L2 at an academic discourse level, as well as a knowledge of how various speech events that draw on learning and teaching experiences can impact upon each other, are crucial.

Conclusion

As we have attempted to illustrate throughout this paper, the acquisition of higher levels of foreign language use involves a long-term commitment on the part of both graduate students and faculty. Therefore, efforts towards this development should not be located in any one particular graduate course, but rather integrated into already established courses and FL graduate education as a whole. By implication, this insight means that the issue now takes on curricular implications and indeed should include the entire department in the decision-making process, involving notably graduate students themselves (Byrnes 2001). As the survey data have already indicated, graduate students *do* have opinions on matters concerning their language development and *are willing* to express their viewpoints and suggestions to those prepared to listen.

Finding fitting venues for students to voice their concerns, however, may well present a challenge. The questionnaire is a start. Nonetheless, it provides only part of the story. Analysis of the survey data gradually clarified to us that the monologic nature of the genre *questionnaire* allowed individual voices to be heard and certainly captured the state of affairs, but did not allow for further engagement with the topic (except for e-mail notes from a few participating graduate student respondents indicating their interest in the topic as well as in the survey results). In other words, the static nature of this elicitation genre may itself have had consequences for the ways in which students conceptualized their language abilities and departmental support for them.

In contrast, as members of our department, we had earlier witnessed how this topic had been handled in a different textual mode with a different configuration of participants through the genre of ***discussion***. In e-mail deliberations regarding three department-wide action research projects as part of the Spencer Foundation Grant awarded to the department (2000–2002), graduate students and faculty discussed for the first time in an open forum the need and desire for graduate students to develop advanced-level German language abilities, particularly in their graduate courses. In this e-mail dialogue, in part the impetus behind the very survey study we have presented here, the collaborative context enabled participants to present, respond to, and develop ideas about graduate education in a more "public" venue. The medium of electronic mail was instrumental in creating a public space for graduate students to voice issues and concerns that might not have otherwise been heard. Furthermore, this interactive dialogue between students and professors ultimately led to a jointly constructed knowledge base for participants to understand, articulate, and grapple with the issues of advanced-level academic language development. As others have noted (Schnell 2000; Dickerson 2000), collective letter writing in academic environments allows participants to create a space for themselves to try out new ideas, as well as personas, in their apprenticing discourse community. This certainly was the case in our situation, and graduate students welcomed the chance to discuss the matter even further in a departmental meeting devoted to the topic a year later.

As we have argued throughout this paper, the construct of genre offers FL graduate departments a useful conceptual framework for linking content and language to their social contexts, thereby providing a first step towards a needs analysis for the FL abilities of graduate students. While we have chosen the genre of ***précis*** in the representation of our two graduate experiences, we view the key to developing an advanced-level language repertoire not in the ability to use and expand upon this particular genre per se, but rather in showing how relevant connections between professional text types and tasks can be used in preparing students to become confident users of the genres required of them in their professional lives.

Finally, we close with some general recommendations to the FL field in conceptualizing and furthering advanced-level language use amongst graduate students. Some of these ideas will sound familiar in that they are adapted from the case studies above; others stem from recommendations put forth by our graduate student and faculty respondents from the survey. An emphasis on the opportunity to practice for "real-life" tasks of the profession runs through all of the suggestions, as do the students' own academic interests.

- Have students present their coursework to their peers in the L2. Writing up abstracts and/or presentation handouts can act as preliminary or concluding stages to this exercise. Real-life textual models provide a basis of comparison for student texts and can lead to a discussion of text styles prevalent in academe. Explicit feedback on language features and content issues from instructors is crucial for students' development.
- Offer courses in which graduate students take English-language scholarly work (if applicable) and adapt it for an L2 academic audience. As a variation, a text could be modified to fit another, academically appropriate genre of the FL field, such as an annotated bibliography, book review, or oral presentation. Levels of formality can be manipulated to create greater awareness of audience and communicative purpose.

- Offer opportunities to teach advanced-level courses, particularly text- and genre-oriented ones (see Byrnes, Crane, and Sprang 2002). Similarly, co-teaching opportunities between graduate students and faculty of upper-level courses can provide students with models and the chance to discuss and reflect on language and content issues of teaching with their teacher mentors.
- Create venues for graduate students in the department, such as department-wide conferences or research seminars, to present individual research in the L2.

In this paper, we have explored some of the issues that our survey respondents raised and have used them as a springboard for reflective dialogue regarding what it means to be an advanced-level L2 learner in FL graduate education. We hope that our discussion has shown that it is possible in an instructed setting, both from the standpoint of substance and from the standpoint of procedures and processes, for graduate students to develop higher level language abilities in their research and teaching, particularly through the awareness of genre. As we have argued, such success necessarily involves intense engagement with texts and a refined sensitivity to more sophisticated uses of language that challenge students both linguistically and intellectually. We believe that reaching this level is possible when a strong commitment on the part of both faculty and students exists. For this reason, opportunities for open discussion that lead to reflection and action must be present in individual departments and the profession as a whole and cannot be overstated.

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Notes

1. There are, of course, many FL graduate students whose native language is neither English nor the target language of the department, making their task of socializing into the professional community even more challenging.
2. Lists of relevant FL programs were obtained through the AAUSC.
3. For reasons of clarity to our respondents, we used the term "target language" (TL) in the survey.
4. Questions 5 and 7 in Section C as well as Question 1 in Section D of the graduate student questionnaire were modeled after Questions 7, 8, and 9 of Koike and Liskin-Gasparro's (1999) survey in which the notion of "near-native language proficiency" was investigated.
5. Because we relied on the FL coordinators and chairs to distribute the questionnaire, we do not know how many surveys actually reached the students. The low response rate may be attributed to the fact that we administered the questionnaire in late April, close to the end of the semester in most universities, when faculty and students are particularly pressed for time.
6. Further biographic information on graduate student respondents includes the following: nine are female, three are male; the mean age is 28 years old. In addition to the L2 studied in the language department, all participants have had varying experiences in learning other languages: between one and six (the majority of the participants have studied between one and three languages other than their L2 in the graduate program); listed in the order from most to least

frequently studied, these languages include French, Latin, Spanish, Polish, Italian, German, Czech, Greek, Dutch, Finnish, Russian, and Hungarian. Semesters in the Ph.D. program of participants range from 0 to 12, with a mean of 5.5 semesters, translating to the end of the third year in the graduate program.

7. We checked to see if, perhaps, the low self-ratings were provided by students who had just started the graduate program and therefore might not yet have had an opportunity to develop the language abilities necessary for graduate work. However, this turned out not to be the case. All students who rated themselves lower than "good" in any of the categories have spent between four to twelve semesters in their graduate programs (seven semesters on average).

8. If we count two students who simply reported having taught "undergraduate language courses," which for many institutions means introductory and intermediate courses, nine graduate students have taught at the first two years of the undergraduate curriculum.

9. Recognizing the need for furthering their own linguistic development or sustaining their current abilities, the students polled in this survey have taken some steps—independent of their programs—to remedy the situation: they report independently seeking out possibilities for research or study in the target language countries, organizing coffee tables or reading groups to maintain language use in informal contexts, reading for pleasure in the L2, listening to the news, seeking help from faculty members with various aspects of language, and attending departmental events conducted in the L2.

10. Leaving the language-literature divide aside, such suggestions simultaneously carry with them pragmatic implications for programs. Separate stylistics courses, for example, may result in extended lengths of study in a graduate program and/or an increase in graduate student funding, which, as one of our language coordinator informants indicates, can prove to be financially unfeasible for FL departments.

11. Recent attempts have been made to breach the gap between the study of language and content in FL academic contexts. Chaput (2001), drawing on Canale and Swain's (1980) model of language competences, for example, encourages graduate student teachers to conceptualize language study in terms of acquisition of four related competences: grammatical, socio-linguistic, discourse and cultural. Kramsch (2002) takes a more holistic perspective on language use, moving beyond theorizing about discrete components of language competence and emphasizing the inseparability of language, literature, and culture. Such a model is more in line with our conception of language as an interrelated framework that connects content, participants in discourse, and culture.

12. Shalom (1993), in her analysis of poster session discussions at academic conferences, shows how the *spoken research process genre* has evolved and developed recognizable features by its users. Similarly, Paltridge (2002) notes in his analysis of masters and doctoral theses that the *thesis genre* of certain academic disciplines has changed over the past ten years. As academia begins to explore further applications of technology, new genres will undoubtedly emerge.

13. Administrative tasks are omitted in this list, as they typically require the use of English, not the L2 of the department.

14. See Sprang's description of this same oral task in Byrnes, Crane, and Sprang (2002) for a more detailed look at the cognitive processes involved.

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Appendix 1

Survey on Graduate Program Support of Advanced-Level Language Development

Foreign Language Coordinator and Department Chair Version

A. General program information

1. Name of Ph.D. granting institution:
2. Name of department:
3. Target language(s) studied in department:

4. Total number of Ph.D. track students in the program:
5. Number of native speaker students of the target language in the program:

B. Target language abilities of graduate students

1. If possible, think of 2-3 graduate students in your department, who are **non-native** speakers of the target language and whom you consider to have **near-native proficiency**. Specify what criteria in your mind make them near-native speakers.
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)

C. Departmental practices of target language support

1. In which professional contexts do you expect the graduate students of your program to use the target language after completion of their studies?
2. Do you think that your department is providing graduate students with adequate support in developing their language abilities to meet the demands of the future professional field? Please explain.
3. To what extent do you believe language support should be considered a component of graduate education in a foreign language department?
4. Are there other ways or practices, independent of the graduate program, that students have used to improve or maintain their language abilities in the target language?

D. Additional comments

Please include any additional comments to the content or form of the survey as you see fit.

Thank you very much for your time and effort in completing this survey!

Appendix 2

Survey on Graduate Program Support of Advanced-Level Language Development

Graduate Student Version

A. General program information

1. Name of Ph.D. granting institution:
2. Name of department:

B. Participant information

1. Age:
2. Gender:
3. Native language:
4. Target language studied in department:
5. Previous experience(s) with target language (please include nature and length of study and/or exposure to language):
6. Other languages studied (and for how long):
7. Number of semesters in doctoral program (including MA work):

C. Self-perception of target language abilities

1. Rate how frequently you use target language in the following contexts using the scale from 1 (very infrequently) to 5 (very frequently). Please place an X next to the most appropriate response.

	1 (very infrequently) .... 5 (very frequently)				
graduate courses	1	2	3	4	5
teaching	1	2	3	4	5
conversations with friends	1	2	3	4	5
conversations with professors	1	2	3	4	5
e-mailing/letter writing	1	2	3	4	5
jobs in which target language is used	1	2	3	4	5
personal reading	1	2	3	4	5
professional reading	1	2	3	4	5

2. Describe your comfort level when speaking the target language. Place an X next to the most appropriate response.
   - (1) ... in your graduate classes (which are conducted in the target language).
     - *(a) very comfortable*
     - *(b) somewhat comfortable*
     - *(c) not very comfortable*
     - *(d) not applicable*
   - (2) ... with professors.
     - *(a) very comfortable*
     - *(b) somewhat comfortable*
     - *(c) not very comfortable*
     - *(d) not applicable*
   - (3) .... with non-native students from your program. (For example, if you are in a French department and you are speaking with non-native students of French.)
     - *(a) very comfortable*
     - *(b) somewhat comfortable*
     - *(c) not very comfortable*
     - *(d) not applicable*
   - (4) .... with native students from your program. (For example, if you are in a French department and you are speaking with native French-speaking students.)
     - *(a) very comfortable*
     - *(b) somewhat comfortable*
     - *(c) not very comfortable*
     - *(d) not applicable*
3. Indicate your relative strength in the four modalities of target language use. Place an "X" next to the response that best reflects your abilities.

Speaking:	*very strong*	*strong*	*moderate*	*weak*
Listening:	*very strong*	*strong*	*moderate*	*weak*
Writing:	*very strong*	*strong*	*moderate*	*weak*
Reading:	*very strong*	*strong*	*moderate*	*weak*

4. Assess the following aspects of your target language abilities. Place an X after the response that best reflects your abilities.
   - (1) writing within academic and/or formal contexts (i.e., papers for coursework):
     - *(a) very good*
     - *(b) good*
     - *(c) satisfactory*
     - *(d) needs improvement*
     - *(e) not applicable*

(2) personal writing/writing to friends:
  - *(a) very good*
  - *(b) good*
  - *(c) satisfactory*
  - *(d) needs improvement*
  - *(e) not applicable*

(3) speaking within academic and/or formal contexts:
  - *(a) very good*
  - *(b) good*
  - *(c) satisfactory*
  - *(d) needs improvement*
  - *(e) not applicable*

(4) speaking with friends, colleagues in more informal settings:
  - *(a) very good*
  - *(b) good*
  - *(c) satisfactory*
  - *(d) needs improvement*
  - *(e) not applicable*

(5) reading in academic contexts (i.e., historical, literary, philosophical texts):
  - *(a) very good*
  - *(b) good*
  - *(c) satisfactory*
  - *(d) needs improvement*
  - *(e) not applicable*

(6) reading in nonacademic contexts, i.e.,"reading for pleasure":
  - *(a) very good*
  - *(b) good*
  - *(c) satisfactory*
  - *(d) needs improvement*
  - *(e) not applicable*

5. If possible, think of 2-3 graduate students in your department, who are **non-native** speakers of the target language and whom you consider to have **near-native proficiency**. Specify what criteria in your mind make them near-native speakers.
   (Student 1):
   (Student 2):
   (Student 3):
6. In turn, describe your own target language abilities.
7. In your opinion, have your language abilities in the target language changed since you began your graduate studies? In which ways? Why?

D. Description of language programs:

1. Describe common practices of target language use in your department.
   For example:

   Are native speakers always addressed in the target language?

   What language do you use to speak with your professors outside of class, i.e., office hours, e-mail correspondence?

   What language do you speak with fellow graduate students - both native and non-native speakers of the target language? Does this change according to topic or context of the conversation?

   Feel free to add other practices not mentioned above.

2. In what language(s) have your graduate courses been conducted? Which ones have been conducted primarily in English, which ones in the target language? Can you discern a reason for different language choices?
3. In which language were you required to write papers? If no specification was given as to language use, in which language did you opt to write, and why?
4. Think about the last few papers that you have written in the target language. Were you given any specific instruction as to the language that was to be used? Were you given any models? What kind of feedback were you given? Was this helpful?
5. If you were asked to give oral presentations in class, in which language were these typically given? Were you given any language-specific guidance or feedback in these presentations?

E. Departmental practices of target language support

1. In which professional contexts do you expect to use the target language after completion of your program?
2. Do you think that your graduate department is providing you with adequate support in developing your language abilities to meet the demands of your future professional field? If so, how?
3. What kinds of support in terms of writing or speaking in the target language would you like to get from your program?
4. What courses, if any, have you taught in your program? Has teaching in the target language been helpful to the overall development of your target language abilities?
5. To what extent do you believe language support should be considered a component of graduate education in a foreign language department? Feel free to include personal experiences if necessary.
6. Are there other ways/practices, independent of your graduate program, that you have used or are planning to use to improve or maintain your language abilities in the target language?

Feel free to include any additional comments concerning the survey:

Thank you very much for your time and effort in completing this survey!

Postscript

Expanding Visions for Collegiate Advanced Foreign Language Learning

Hiram H. Maxim

Abstract

This paper examines the prevailing departmental, professional, and research practices in collegiate foreign language (FL) learning and argues that, as it is currently conceptualized, collegiate FL learning needlessly limits the opportunities for developing advanced language abilities. In response to this predicament, alternative approaches to FL learning are proposed that center around more comprehensive and integrated curricular planning that recognizes the long-term nature of FL learning. Specifically, in contrast with the current privileging of spoken language, individualistic approaches to language use, and naturalistic learning, this paper advocates a genre- and discourse-based orientation to FL learning that reflects a social understanding of language use.

Introduction

As the title of this volume proposes and its preceding chapters indicate, fostering advanced foreign language (FL) learning at the collegiate level presents significant challenges to FL departments. Defined here as the language learning that takes place in non-sequenced content courses that departments designate as upper level or advanced, collegiate advanced FL learning has traditionally not consisted of any substantive or systematic attention to learners' language acquisition (Byrnes 2002b; Byrnes, Crane and Sprang 2002; Weigert, this volume). Instead, the focus has remained on content acquisition in a non-sequenced and often inarticulated manner under the assumption that learners have a suitable foundation in the language from their lower-level FL courses. For those learners in advanced language classes who still need to develop their language abilities the typical solution is to have them spend time abroad, but as Isabelli (this volume) demonstrates, the acquisition of advanced language features is not automatic in a study abroad context and can depend on length of stay, a luxury that not all collegiate FL learners can afford.

Furthermore, Kagan and Dillon (this volume) argue that even heritage learners who have completed a significant amount of schooling in the target culture need explicit attention to language acquisition, rather than additional time in a naturalistic immersion setting, in order to develop their language abilities further. In addition, as Swaffar (this volume) points out, collegiate advanced FL classes typically demand much more from learners than simply an expanded vocabulary or more sophisticated grammar. Learners also are confronted with a wider and increasingly unfamiliar array of textual genres. The texts typically are longer, they tend to occur in public settings, and they represent a much more refined cultural specificity than previously encountered in lower-level instruction. Swaffar (this volume) goes on to argue that even genres (e.g., magazine articles, biographies) that appear familiar to the FL learner can still prove challenging because they might be structured differently or require particular socio-cultural knowledge that the learner lacks. Kern (this volume) points to a similar phenomenon with students studying abroad who are challenged to understand how seemingly similar genres and literacy practices can be different when situated in another cultural context. Such observations as well as the curricular and pedagogical approach outlined by Byrnes and Sprang (this volume) point to the centrality of public genres and literacy practices for collegiate advanced FL learning.

While the preceding chapters offer important approaches for meeting the challenges of collegiate advanced FL study, to a large degree they remain singular voices for what until recently has been a neglected component of both collegiate FL education and second language acquisition (SLA) research. That there has been increased interest as of late in advanced FL study at the collegiate level can be traced in part to the changing demographics of collegiate FL classrooms that now include more advanced learners such as heritage learners, study abroad participants[1], and professionally-oriented students as well as to the changing geo-political scene that now sees advanced language abilities as a matter of national security. However, in this chapter I will argue that the collegiate FL profession needs to do more than address the needs of a changing student population or the federal intelligence community if it wants to affect collegiate advanced FL study in a substantive way. While local, department-specific efforts to revise upper-level courses and integrate them into a coherent four-year undergraduate curriculum are an important first step, the field needs to rethink and expand its vision for advanced FL learning. By that, I mean that the guiding metaphors that currently exist for conceptualizing collegiate advanced FL study are unnecessarily delimiting and restrict our ability as a profession to imagine an expanded notion of advancedness[2]. This paper will therefore examine the predominant paradigms within collegiate FL education and second language acquisition (SLA) research for their effect on advanced language learning and then propose how alternative, expanded visions could establish a much more productive environment for collegiate advanced FL learning.

Collegiate FL Education and the Advanced FL Learner

Although college FL instruction is represented by a range of programs and institutions, I will focus in this section on certain characteristics that are widely shared by the majority of FL departments which have become naturalized (Fairclough 1989) within the profession and which needlessly limit the possibilities for advanced FL learning: communicative language teaching (CLT), learner centeredness, study abroad, and curriculum by default.

Communicative Language Teaching

For the past 25 years, the dominant paradigm for college FL instruction has been communicative language teaching. Largely credited with improving the quality of FL instruction by replacing traditional grammar instruction with interactive, spoken language use, CLT has undergone various permutations, ranging from a naturalistic orientation (e.g., Krashen 1985) to a proficiency-based model (e.g., ACTFL 1986) to a focus on integrating meaning and form (e.g., VanPatten 1996), that have reflected the prevailing views in SLA research at the time. Regardless of its particular focus, CLT has widely been seen as a positive step in collegiate FL education, if for no other reason than that its focus on developing oral proficiency corresponds most closely to what undergraduate FL learners seem to want out of their FL learning experience (e.g., Harlow and Muyskens 1994; Horowitz 1988; Martin and Laurie 1993).

Interestingly, in the many discussions and presentations about CLT, very little has been said about its provenance and original purpose as a pedagogical approach to address the functional language needs of the growing adult immigrant population in Europe. Thus, while the implementation of CLT at the college level in the United States has been true to the original intentions of the European initiative, the fact that the two learning contexts are vastly different has received very little attention. To be sure, both environments involve adult learners, but there the similarities end. The European CLT project had no representatives from university-level language instruction, for example, and understandably did not take into account the intellectual goals of higher education. Without any academic mooring, CLT would at first glance appear to have little relevance for collegiate FL study, yet 25 years of preeminence at the college level in the United States reveal otherwise. Moreover, as I will point out throughout this paper, the collegiate FL profession has established a clear pattern of generalizing from pedagogies and research findings from one learning context and applying them to the highly specific context of college-level FL instruction.

The possible incompatibility of CLT and collegiate FL education has gone largely unnoticed except for a few lone critiques. Byrnes (2001), Kramsch (1995), and Swaffar (1999) all note that by privileging the development of verbal abilities, CLT ends up limiting the emphasis on textuality. In the typical programmatic progression for undergraduate FL learners, the first two years of instruction emphasize spoken language use in primarily interactive and familiar settings while adhering to an underlying linguistic syllabus. At the end of these two years, learners are presumed to be in command of the language and therefore ready for upper level instruction where courses have a specific content focus and are by nature more text-based. However, as Byrnes (2000) points out in her detailed analysis of the disjunctures in the FL profession between SLA research and collegiate FL study, a text-based focus at the upper levels does not necessarily mean that learners will receive explicit instructional support to facilitate their understanding of discourse-level and genre-specific meaning-form relationships that characterize advanced language performance. In fact, because of learners' presumed mastery of the language at this stage of instruction, very little overt attention is devoted to comprehending and navigating the discursive and rhetorical patterns that are associated with a range of oral and written genres (Swaffar, this volume). In addition, regardless of the pedagogical approach at the upper levels of instruction, an emphasis on spoken language at the lower levels cannot be seen as a suitable framework for preparing students for textual engagement.

A by-product of the CLT movement that has added to its influence at the college level has been the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines and their method for assessing oral abilities, the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI). As Byrnes (2002b) observes, the Guidelines inherently represent a specific type of language use that privileges the following aspects of language learning: an additive and componential notion of language; formal accuracy; interactive speech; and assessment-driven instruction. Although this notion of language use has achieved wide acceptance in the profession, it does not correspond to recent developments in the understanding of advanced L2 literacy (see Byrnes and Sprang, this volume). For example, interactive, familiar speech would not be considered appropriate for conveying meaning in public, formal genres typically associated with advanced language use. Nevertheless, as Byrnes, Crane and Sprang (2002) note, when advanced learners confront language use that Gee (1998) considers secondary discourses of public life, they often respond to them in primary discourses of familiarity, i.e., the familiar, spoken language that has been emphasized and taught as part of the CLT movement.

Perhaps a more appropriate framework for FL departments would be one that reflects the intellectual learning goals that define them as legitimate academic units and supports the long-term nature of FL learning up through advanced levels of instruction. At the theoretical level, a literacy-oriented approach to FL instruction as advocated by Byrnes (2000, 2001, 2002b), Kern (2000, 2002, and this volume) and Swaffar (1999, and this volume) provides a helpful framework for understanding advanced collegiate FL learning because of its emphasis on texts and textuality as the basis of FL study. In such an approach every level of instruction could have a content focus with a rich textual presence that contributed to the department's humanistic goals. Pedagogically, such an approach could, as Byrnes (2000) proposes, emphasize at every level the "variable, complex meaning-form relationships that mark, at times define, different genres and discourses (e.g., Biber 1986), and various kinds of literacies and literatures and are at the heart of inquiry and interpretation, creativity, and critical engagement" (p. 140). The integration of a content focus with overt attention to meaning-form relationships in diverse genres at all levels of instruction could establish a coherent trajectory for FL learners to follow to attain advanced levels of performance.

Learner Centeredness

A central component of CLT since its inception has been a move away from the teacher-fronted classroom with its focus on explicit rules-based instruction to a more student-centered focus that encourages individualistic creative expression. The current prevalence of such classroom practices as pair work, group work, and student portfolios all point to the wide acceptance that student-centered learning enjoys in collegiate FL study. In addition, fostering student self-expression and helping students develop their own voice in the language are now fairly standard learning goals of most collegiate FL courses. Upon closer inspection, however, the fundamental premise of individualistic expression is in fact based on the very approach that is so often seen as its diametric opposite, namely, a rules-oriented generative model of production. By encouraging learners to "say it in their own words" and create their own personal, expressive voice in the language, learner centeredness is in effect asking learners to apply their knowledge of linguistic rules to produce an infinite number of possible expressions. Such an approach represents a strongly individualistic rather than a social understanding of language because the individually created expressions might be linguistically accurate, but they only become truly meaningful if they are situated in a social context and accepted by a discourse community that uses that language. Therefore, if language learning and language use are to be understood as being socially situated, then the limitless creative possibilities of learner centeredness are called into question.

The recent L1 literacy initiatives in Australia (Cope and Kalantzis 1993, 2000; Gee 1990, 1998; Hasan 1996; The New London Group 1996) recognized this predicament in their proposals for alternatives to the omnipresent creative writing movements. In particular, two closely related theoretical frameworks inform the Australian project. First, Halliday's (1985/1994) functional grammar offers a different notion of grammar from the existing paradigm of structuralist and formalist approaches. Instead of assigning meaning to the forms of a language and treating them as the focus of study, he sees forms as simply the means "through which the meanings can be realized" (p. xv). Second, proponents of genre-based approaches to language learning apply Halliday's work by arguing that meaning is realized in situated and purposeful activities that they characterize as genres

(Christie 1999; Johns 1995). In addition, genres represent oral or written rhetorical action that has become typified within a speech community and therefore adheres to general cultural expectations. In other words, from a functional, genre-based perspective, without an understanding of the various genres of their speech community, language learners will not be able to express themselves creatively. Bakhtin (1986) summarizes this position effectively by stating that "to use a genre freely and creatively is not the same as to create a genre from the beginning: genres must be fully mastered in order to be manipulated freely" (p. 80).

Rather than following a strictly learner-centered approach that fails to account for the social situated nature of language use, a genre-based approach appears to provide an effective basis for developing coherent programs for collegiate language learning that attend to the attainment of advanced language abilities (see Byrnes and Sprang, this volume; Swaffar, this volume). Specifically, by following Gee's (1998) distinction between primary discourses of familiarity and secondary discourses of public life, curricular designers could construct an undergraduate content-oriented program that focuses on familiar, personal genres at the lower levels and then gradually shifts with each instructional level to the treatment of genres found in more public contexts (for more detailed characteristics of primary and secondary discourses, see the "Continua of Multiple Literacies" in Byrnes and Sprang, this volume). In an upper-level Business German class, for instance, Weigert (this volume) found book reviews to be effective at fostering her students' advanced-level competence while Crane, Liamkina, and Ryshina-Pankova (this volume) cite the précis as an appropriate genre for developing academic-level abilities among non-native graduate students. As learners progressed through such a genre-based curriculum, they would become increasingly confident and successful at both understanding the meaning-form relationship instantiated in genre and making situationally appropriate meaning within genres.

At the pedagogical level, genre-based tasks are a particularly effective way to explicitly elicit the situated language use exemplified in a genre. Differing from the standard notion of tasks as "real-world" communicative activities, genre-based tasks require learners to negotiate and appropriate the lexicogrammatical and rhetorical features of a particular genre for their own use. Because, as Pennycook (1996) points out, this type of textual reproduction runs the risk of learners' adopting a static and prescriptive view of language use, learners need to be encouraged to view their understanding and negotiation of the generic features in texts as their access to the dominant L2 discourses. Their successful completion of a genre-based task, therefore, is not merely the incorporation of generic conventions in their own language use, but also the self-conscious "denaturalization" (Fairclough 1989) of these conventions. In other words, learners explicitly examine textual models of a particular genre to see how socially situated language use has become naturalized, and then utilize that knowledge to appropriate that very genre for their communicative purposes. Advancedness in a genre-based, literacy-oriented curriculum then becomes more than the ability to handle a wide array of communicative situations with fluency and accuracy; rather, it also involves an understanding of how knowledge and information are organized and constructed in the target culture. Equipped with that level of understanding, advanced L2 learners are thus able not only to make meaning in the real world but also to reflect on and critique how the real world itself makes meaning. Learners would thus still be able to develop their own voices and identities in the FL, but they would be doing so in a culturally and situationally appropriate manner. In the end, that type of language ability would seem to be a much more powerful form of multicompetence (Cook 1999) than simply the ability to create limitless utterances with no refined awareness of their social and personal appropriateness.

Study Abroad

Study abroad has long been considered an important component of undergraduate FL education. Study abroad participants typically cite such benefits as improved language abilities, increased cultural understanding, and expanded world view when recounting their positive experience overseas. With such strong anecdotal evidence and intuitive appeal, study abroad is widely considered the most effective way to advance one's language abilities, particularly in light of the limited amount of time available for language learning at the college level (Freed 1995).

However, inherent in the profession's advocacy of study abroad is the continued privileging of implicit naturalistic learning. That is, the imagined scenario in a study abroad experience is not one involving explicit instruction, but rather the implicit acquisition of the language while being immersed in the target culture. To be sure, most study abroad programs include some explicit attention to language acquisition, especially in "sheltered" programs where students take courses specifically tailored to North American or international students. Nevertheless, that the most cited gain in study abroad participants' language abilities is an increase in their temporal fluency is a reflection of their being in a naturalistic acquisition context, rather than a traditional classroom environment.[3]

Naturalistic approaches are also tacitly privileged in the recent SLA research on the role of learning context on L2 acquisition. Specifically, this area of research is interested in comparing the effects of study abroad, immersion instruction, and traditional non-intensive classroom instruction on a variety of factors related to L2 acquisition such as fluency, accuracy, and complexity (Collentine 2003; Freed, Segalowitz, and Dewey 2001; Lafford 2003). However, the research limits its definition of context to the location where language is learned rather than also investigating how (i.e., the pedagogy) it is learned or what (i.e., the curriculum) is learned. Implicit in such a research design is that language learning simply happens regardless of the pedagogical or curricular approach.

This is not to say that naturalistic immersion settings are not conducive to language acquisition, but they do not inherently lead to the development of advanced language abilities among collegiate FL learners. For study abroad programs to support collegiate advanced language learning, they would need to provide the type of explicit exposure to public genres and secondary discourses that, for example, is outlined in Byrnes and Sprang (this volume), Swaffar (this volume), and Weigert (this volume). Only through an increased understanding and use of a range of genres that are commonly practiced in public contexts will collegiate learners be able to develop the literate behaviors that characterize advanced language learners.

Curriculum by Default

Perhaps the ultimate paradox of collegiate FL instruction is that there is a limited amount of time to attend to a phenomenon that requires a great deal of time, namely, L2 acquisition. With such severe time constraints, one would think that FL departments would look to maximize this time in the most efficient and effective manner possible. To a small degree, departments acknowledge this predicament through their advocacy of immersion or intensive language learning opportunities such as study abroad or summer internships, but in terms of their own in-house program of study, they have woefully neglected the possibilities available to them.

Above all, in order to effectively address and support the long-term nature of language acquisition, departments need to engage in comprehensive curricular planning that spans all four years of undergraduate study. However, as long as departments maintain their now well-documented departmental bifurcation between "language" classes at the lower level and "content" courses at the upper level, they will largely be unable to undertake any serious, pan-departmental curricular reform.[4] As mentioned above, "language" classes typically consist of communicative language activities that follow a forms-focused syllabus without a particular content focus. At the upper level, where collegiate learners are presumed to have "mastered" the language, the focus shifts to specific content areas without any systematic, well-conceived attention to language acquisition. As Byrnes (2000) underscores, with so little intellectual connection between the two levels, any substantive curricular innovation becomes very difficult to achieve.

This dichotomous curricular approach becomes further entrenched by departmental practices and professional prejudices. First, as departments look to assert their legitimacy and viability as academic units in the face of budget cuts and outsiders' calls for accountability, some departmental members, especially those teaching at the upper level, conclude that communicative language teaching with its lack of content focus and its emphasis on everyday spoken language does not in fact contribute to the department's intellectual enterprise (Byrnes 2000). That the lower levels of instruction are increasingly being outsourced to language centers indicates just how insignificant some departments view CLT's contribution to their humanistic learning goals.[5] Certain long-held views that have attempted to rationalize the collegiate FL curricular dichotomy, such as the belief that the bulk of L2 acquisition is accomplished in the first two years of instruction or that explicit attention on L2 acquisition will take time away from content acquisition, reflect assumptions about L2 acquisition and the link between language and content that have long been discredited (Byrnes and Kord 2001).

Second, while departmental bifurcation has been widely criticized for its detrimental effects on language acquisition, many college faculty continue to think in terms of individual courses and therefore do not see the current structural division as posing a problem to their own scholarly and instructional interests. In fact, from their perspective curricular reform would probably create more inconveniences for their upper-level course offerings than maintaining the status quo.

Last, without any clear curricular trajectory from beginning instruction to the upper level, many departments rely heavily on commercial textbooks for programmatic guidance. Turning to publishing houses for pedagogical support is not going to lead to the type of coherent curricular integration that four-year collegiate programs need. Textbooks, with their extensive ancillary materials and teacher's manuals, are designed to be self-contained courses and thus are, by their very nature, poorly suited for establishing an articulated curriculum in which each level builds on the previous level. In fact, because of the continued influence of CLT, the conceptual horizon for most textbooks remains so low that students are not at all prepared to engage in the type of language learning necessary to attain advanced-level abilities.

The resulting situation for most departments then becomes a curriculum by default, a mere aggregation of independently designed courses without any sense of curricular progression or trajectory (Byrnes 1998). Despite this inarticulate departmental mission, departments are not without guidance on how to bring about an integrated undergraduate curriculum (e.g., Bernhardt and Berman 1999; Byrnes 2000, 2001; Kern, this volume). For the most part, however, ESL-driven notions of curriculum construction with their emphasis on learner needs analyses have become the predominant model in the language teaching profession. Whereas that model works well for ESL programs that are able to identify their students' needs fairly accurately (e.g., preparation for university-level study; development of functional work-related abilities), it is less than optimal for FL departments that typically find that their students have a wider range of learning goals and attitudes. Byrnes (2000) provides an effective summary of the types of students who comprise collegiate FL study:

> Sitting side by side are learners whose only "need" and intention are to fulfill the foreign language requirement and who terminate their involvement with language study at the earliest possible opportunity; learners who, often quite unexpectedly, actually develop some interest and vaguely perceived needs as they engage in learning the language; and learners who had explicit goals right from the start that required a long-term trajectory, for instance, the anticipation of using the language competently in a professional or academic context once they graduate (p. 138).

The challenge for collegiate FL programs, then, is to construct a comprehensive curriculum that addresses all three groups and that establishes foreign language study ***at all levels*** as a legitimate intellectual pursuit within the academy. Realistically, that academic charge can only be realized with a four-year, integrated curriculum. Focusing solely on the first two years of instruction or, conversely, upper-level instruction overlooks the fact that language acquisition is a long-term phenomenon whose foundation needs to be laid early and then supported in a coherent fashion throughout the duration of study. After all, the path toward advancedness begins at the introductory level, yet without clear articulation of what the goals of upper-level instruction are in terms of language and content acquisition, lower-level instruction runs the danger of becoming either a "language" program independent of the upper level or a series of courses that leads to the next level of instruction but whose goals remain course-specific rather than curriculum-dependent. LPDs can of course try to shape lower-level instruction to prepare learners for upper-level classes, but, again, if there is not a clear notion of what upper levels of L2 abilities look like, then efforts at articulation become difficult to realize.

Equally ineffective is the so-called "bridge" course that attempts to serve as a transition to upper-level instruction. As Byrnes, Crane, and Sprang (2002) point out, the problem with such a course is that it "attempts to accomplish in a single semester what an entire program would struggle to achieve, namely, the acquisition of sophisticated L2 literacy" (p. 26). That departments feel a need for a bridge course is yet a further indictment of the disjuncture between the forms-focused communicative language teaching at the lower levels and the content-focused instruction at the upper levels.

Rather than just one course, an integrated, articulated four-year undergraduate curriculum would appear to be the instructional path that is most compatible with the long-term process of L2 acquisition. Within such a curricular context, a learning trajectory is established that allows each instructional level to build on the preceding one. As Byrnes and Sprang (this volume) exemplify, at one level advanced learners refine their ability to narrate publicly within a particular historical and cultural context, and then at the next level they continue their focus on public settings by developing their ability to deliver a formal, public speech.

An expanded four-year vision is particularly vital for the development of advanced levels of language use. Advanced learners, for instance, cannot be expected to become confident users of secondary discourses of public life without having had extensive practice uncovering the intricate meaning-form relationships that characterize discourse-level language use. Because of its emphasis on having learners understand and make meaning-form relationships in a variety of discourses and genres, such a curricular framework cannot postpone learners' engagement with meaningful content until the upper levels of instruction. From the beginning stages of language instruction, learners need to see how content is conveyed in particular genres if they are expected to engage more sophisticated content and genres in advanced-level courses.

SLA Research and the Collegiate Advanced FL Learner

In addition to departmental and professional factors, SLA research has also shaped the profession's conceptualization of advanced collegiate FL learning. Ironically, the influence that SLA research has had on advanced collegiate learning is not the result of actual research on advanced collegiate learners because there have been very few studies that have actually investigated this learning context. Instead, the influence is a consequence of the fact that the FL profession relies heavily on SLA research for theoretical guidance and empirical justification for instructional practices. As a result, the current conceptualization of language learning in SLA research carries considerable weight in the field and often is generalized to other learning contexts that in most cases differ widely from the original context in which the research was conducted. To exemplify this relationship between SLA research and collegiate FL learning, this section will illustrate how two predominant constructs for conceptualizing L2 acquisition, input and interaction, have been operationalized in the research and how this operationalization, in turn, has influenced collegiate FL instruction, particularly at the advanced level.

Input and Interaction

Although a detailed overview of the SLA research on input and interaction is beyond the focus of this chapter, it is important to note that this SLA research interest coincided with the communicative turn in language teaching in the 1970s, thereby marking a shift in focus for language professionals away from formalist approaches to language toward more meaning-driven notions of language use. Input has come to be seen as a necessary condition for L2 acquisition and interaction as the means to facilitate the comprehension and possible acquisition of the input. Research on both variables has been extensive and investigated, for example, the role of noticing (Schmidt 1993, 1995), attention (Leow 1997, 2000), awareness (Sharwood Smith 1991, 1993), and instruction (VanPatten 1996) on input processing and the role of interaction on comprehension (Pica 1994; Pica, Young and Doughty 1987) and learning outcomes (Mackey 1999).

Although the scholarship on input and interaction consists of different research strands, it also shares several common characteristics. First and foremost, despite calls for conducting studies within coherent curricular frameworks (e.g., Doughty and Williams 1998), such frameworks are so rare, especially in collegiate FL programs, that context has not been a significant variable in much of the research on input and interaction. Researchers cannot be faulted for departments' lack of curricular initiative, but the absence of a curricular structure does point to the limited applications of the research for FL programs interested in developing learners' advanced language abilities through long-term, contextualized learning.

Second, without a curricular context, SLA research is unable to conduct any long-term studies to investigate the different stages of interlanguage development within a particular learning environment. As a result, the field must rely on and be satisfied with short-term, cross-sectional studies that fall short of capturing the non-linear, long-term nature of L2 acquisition.

Third, if the research cannot be situated within a curricular framework, then the entire notion that language learning and use are socially situated cannot be investigated.

Instead, researchers have to view the learners as individuals operating independently of any context or situation. Such an individualistic understanding of language of course accords with the aforementioned emphasis on learner centeredness, but it fails to account for contextual factors in L2 acquisition (Firth and Wagner 1997, 1998). The relevance of such research for advanced collegiate FL learning then is called into question because advancedness is so closely related to being literate in a range of private and public contexts.

Fourth, in addition to its focus on the individual learner in a decontextualized setting, SLA research has remained focused on sentence-level comprehension and production. While certainly legitimate for investigating that type of language use, such research appears to offer very little to FL programs interested in discourse-level language use. Of course, there is the belief in an additive approach to language learning in which learners need to first start at the sentence level before progressing to the discourse level, but such an approach is not conducive to developing advanced language abilities. To begin with, as Byrnes (2000) points out in her description of the content-oriented, four-year undergraduate curriculum in the German Department at Georgetown University, discourse-level abilities are developed over long periods of time and therefore necessitate a discourse orientation commencing in the first year of instruction and continuing throughout the curriculum.[6] In addition, if a learner's level of advancedness depends on the number and variety of contexts in which meaning can be conveyed and interpreted, then the development of L2 abilities can no longer be viewed simply as the aggregation of various skills such as vocabulary knowledge, formal accuracy, and temporal fluency. Vocabulary knowledge, for example, cannot be judged based solely on the number of words understood; rather, it needs also to include an understanding of how context (i.e., nature of the task, degree of formality) influences lexical choices. Furthermore, without any substantive analysis of discourse-length utterances, it becomes difficult to even imagine what advanced L2 use looks like. As Koike and Liskin-Gasparro (1999) and Freed (1995) illustrate, without a clear understanding of what advanced L2 abilities are, opinions can vary widely on what constitutes notions such as fluency or near-nativeness. Until more research is undertaken that is able to better characterize the advanced L2 learner, the profession is left to rely on a combination of the limited existing research, impressionistic judgments, and extrapolations from learner profiles at the lower levels.

Finally, except for some scholarship on input processing instruction (e.g., VanPatten 1996; VanPatten and Cadierno 1993) and attention (e.g., Leow 1997, 2000) that was conducted with collegiate FL learners, much of the research on input and interaction has been conducted in ESL contexts. Even in cases when the research examines adult ESL learners in university contexts, the learning goals and the instructional paths of university ESL students and collegiate FL students are still vastly different. Researchers and practitioners readily distinguish between the two contexts, but the FL field continues to derive theoretical guidance from ESL-driven research. The fundamental problem with this relationship is that collegiate FL education relies on research that in large part is not relevant to its learning context. Short-term, sentence-level studies of ESL learners in decontextualized learning environments are not going to produce the type of findings that will ultimately inform curricular and pedagogical planning in collegiate FL programs that are looking to maximize four years of instruction to bring about advanced language abilities. The dilemma, of course, is that the type of integrated, four-year curricular context in which FL-oriented research needs to take place is an extremely rare entity in collegiate FL education. The profession then appears to have two options: maintain the current dichotomous curricular existence and rely on SLA research conducted in different contexts to inform pedagogical and curricular practices, or confront the pan-departmental challenge of revising the undergraduate curriculum so that it supports the long-term development of FL learners as well as the intellectual learning goals of the department.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the FL profession's vision for the development of advanced learners reflects the broader mission of collegiate FL education. Currently, the professional and research limitations outlined above restrict our ability to imagine a broader notion of the advanced collegiate FL learner. Without a coherent curricular context in which to develop advanced language abilities or sufficient direction from SLA research to explain the phenomenon of advanced collegiate FL learning, the profession must rely on long-held assumptions about advanced L2 learning that are increasingly being called into question. The challenge then becomes to move outside the current paradigm that governs our understanding of advanced L2 learning and imagine a much more expanded notion of advancedness. By questioning current assumptions and practices, both within the department and the profession, and by articulating its goals for the four-year undergraduate FL learning experience, the FL department has the potential to be reinvigorated with a collective purpose, a common intellectual framework, and a multiliterate student population. Nevertheless, entrenched departmental practices are hard to overcome. As a way of initiating the process of engaging each other in dialogue about its mission, a FL department might find that a renewed and more expanded vision for the advanced learner is a logical point of departure.

Notes

1. For statistics on study abroad participation among U.S. university students, see the Institute of International Education's web site at http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/.
2. See Ellis (2001) and Herron (1982) for further discussion of the role of metaphors in conceptualizing L2 acquisition.
3. See Freed (1995) for an overview of research on fluency with study abroad participants.
4. For discussions about departmental bifurcation see, among others, Berman (2000), Byrnes (1998, 2001), James (1989, 1996), Kern (2002), Kramsch (1995).
5. For more on the issue of language centers, see the discussion by Byrnes (2002a), Lariviere (2002), Bernhardt (2002), Klee (2002), Rodd (2002), Jacobs (2002), and Welles (2002) in the forum *Perspectives* in the *Modern Language Journal* 86(2), Summer 2002.
6. Additional information on the Georgetown University German Department's undergraduate curriculum is available at http://data.georgetown.edu/departments/german/programs/curriculum/.

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Contributors

Heidi Byrnes (Ph.D.,Georgetown University) is Professor of German/Linguistics at Georgetown University. Her research focus is the acquisition of academic literacy by adult instructed learners. Her department has implemented an integrated content-oriented and task-based curriculum, entitled "Developing Multiple Literacies," that uses the notion of literacy and the construct of genre as a foundation for conceptualizing a four-year instructional sequence and, within it, advanced L2 learning and teaching. She is currently working on a book on principles and practices for curriculum development within collegiate foreign language departments. byrnesh@georgetown.edu

Cori Crane (M.A., University of Pennsylvania) is a doctoral candidate in the German Department at Georgetown University, where she is currently writing her dissertation on evaluative features in the writing of advanced-level learners of German. Her research interests include discourse analysis and genre theory and its pedagogical applications. She has taught undergraduate German from beginning to advanced levels, including Business German, and is currently level coordinator for the advanced level in the undergraduate curriculum. She is co-author of *Doing Foreign Language: Adapting the Best Practices of Concordia Language Villages to the Foreign Language Classroom* with Heidi Hamilton and Abigail Bartoshesky (to appear 2003 with Prentice Hall), in conjunction with her three-year research assistantship at the German camp of Concordia Language Villages. cranecp@georgetown.edu

Kathleen Dillon (Ph.D., University of Southern California) holds a degree in Comparative Literature. She taught Russian language in high school and to heritage speakers of Russian in community college prior to becoming the Associate Director of the UC Consortium for Language Learning & Teaching. In that capacity she is actively involved in the development of policy guidelines for UC language programs, with a particular focus on heritage language and distance language education. Dillon is also the Executive Director of the American Association of Teachers of Russian and East European Languages (AATSEEL) and a member of the Board of Directors of the American Council of Teachers of Russian. Together with Olga Kagan, her co-author, she is co-editor of the new online Heritage Language Journal. kedillon@ucdavis.edu

Casilde A. Isabelli (Ph.D., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign) is an assistant professor of Spanish Linguistics and the coordinator of the Basic Spanish Language Program in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at the University of Nevada at Reno. With a degree in Spanish Applied Linguistics, she counts among her research interests second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and research methods. isabelli@unr.edu

Olga Kagan (Ph.D., Pushkin Institute, Moscow, Russia) is Coordinator of the Russian Language Program and Director of the Language Resource Center at UCLA. She is the co-author of a second-year Russian textbook *V Puti*, Prentice Hall, 1996 and a textbook for heritage speakers *Russian for Russians*, Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2002. She is co-editor of the *The Teaching and Learning of Slavic Languages and Cultures*, Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2000 that won an award for Best Contribution to Pedagogy of the American Association of Teachers of Russian and Eastern European Languages. Her most recent research interests focus on curricular development for heritage speakers.

Together with Kathleen Dillon, her co-author, she is co-editor of the new online Heritage Language Journal, okagan@humnet.ucla.edu

Richard Kern (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley) is Associate Professor of French and Director of the French language program at the University of California at Berkeley. He supervises graduate teaching assistants and teaches courses in French, applied linguistics, and foreign language pedagogy. His research interests include reading and writing in a foreign language and computer assisted language learning. His most recent book, *Literacy and Language Teaching* (Oxford University Press, 2000) deals with the theory and practice of reading and writing in a foreign language. He has also published articles in *The Modern Language Journal, Foreign Language Annals, Canadian Modern Language Review,* and *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* and has co-edited a collection of research studies with Mark Warschauer, entitled *Network-Based Language Learning: Concepts and Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 2000). kernrg@socrates.berkeley.edu

Olga Liamkina (M.A., University of Arizona) is a doctoral candidate in the German Department at Georgetown University, with an emphasis on applied linguistics/second language acquisition. Her research interests include applications of Cognitive Linguistics theories to adult foreign language teaching and learning, genre theory, and foreign language curriculum design. Her doctoral dissertation investigates acquisition of the conceptual structure of the German case system by advanced instructed learners. She has been an active participant in the continued enhancement of the department's content-oriented, task-based curriculum, "Developing Multiple Literacies," has taught courses at Levels I-IV of the curriculum (including Business German), and has taken part in department-wide research and assessment projects. liamkina@hotmail.com

Hiram H. Maxim (Ph.D., University of Texas at Austin) is Assistant Professor and Curriculum Coordinator in the Department of German at Georgetown University. He teaches at all levels in the department's content-oriented, task-based undergraduate curriculum as well as the introductory graduate course on second language acquisition and language pedagogy. He also is closely involved in level coordination, language assessment, and graduate student teacher development. His research interests include the intertextual relationship between L2 reading and writing, foreign language cultural literacy, and the foreign language teaching profession. hhm2@georgetown.edu

Marianna Ryshina-Pankova is a doctoral candidate in the German Department at Georgetown University. She is currently starting work on her dissertation where she will investigate the role of genre in L2 writing development and L2 writing assessment at the advanced level. Her research interests lie in the areas of discourse analysis, pragmatics, assessment of oral and written language abilities in L2, literacy development in native and foreign languages, and knowledge construction. She has taught German at beginning, intermediate, and advanced levels of the task-based, content-oriented curriculum that aims at integration of language and content to attain the goal of multiliteracy through exploration of different genres underlying various spheres of human communicative activity. mryshina@yahoo.com

Katherine A. Sprang (Ph.D., Georgetown University) recently completed her graduate studies in the German Department at Georgetown University, with specialization in Second Language Acquisition. Her research interests include foreign language vocabulary and lexicogrammatical development among adult, instructed learners, particularly at intermediate and advanced levels. sprangk@georgetown.edu

Janet Swaffar (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, Madison) is Professor of Germanic Studies who also works with the University of Texas Programs in Foreign Language Education and Comparative Literatures. She has written widely about approaches to reading in the sense of multi-literacies pedagogies that focus on a variety of texts and their contexts as the basis for learning and using different genres as models for spoken and written communication at various levels of sophistication. She writes about and teaches both graduate and undergraduate courses in contemporary literature and film. jswaffar@mail.utexas.edu

Daniel Villa (Ph.D., University of New Mexico) is Associate Professor of Spanish in the Department of Languages and Linguistics at New Mexico State University. His research centers on issues relating to U.S. Spanish, including its status, how it is taught to its speakers, its economic importance, the demographic presence of Spanish speakers in the U.S., and its future as a common language in this nation. He also investigates the relationship between language and identity, how people choose to identify themselves in the multicultural and multilingual environment of the U.S.-Mexico border regions. His publications include *La gramaticalización de futuridad en el español*, a wide collection of journal articles, book chapters, conference papers and technical reports, and the recent guest-edited issue of the *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, "Studies in Language Contact: U.S. Spanish." He is currently working on a book with the tentative title *Spanglish: A Primer of U.S. Spanish*. dvilla@crl.nmsu.edu

Astrid Weigert (Ph.D., Georgetown University) is a Visiting Assistant Professor at the German Department at Georgetown University from where she received her Ph.D. in German literature in 1999. She has been actively involved in her department's undergraduate curricular reform, with a special focus on the redesign of advanced-level Business Culture courses. weigerta@georgetown.edu

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Clément, Richard. 1980. Ethnicity, Contact and Communicative Competence in a Second Language. In *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*, edited by H. Giles, W. P. Robinson, and P. M. Smith, 147–54. Oxford: Pergamon.

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Dörnyei, Zoltán. 1990a. Analysis of Motivation Components in Foreign Language Learning. Paper presented at the Ninth World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Greece.

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